DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 466 987 SO 034 030

AUTHOR	Singer, Alan, Ed.
TITLE	Issues for the 21st Century.
INSTITUTION	New Jersey Council for the Social Studies.; New York State Council for the Social Studies.
PUB DATE	2002-00-00
NOTE	85p.; Published twice per year. Theme issue.
AVAILABLE FROM	Social Science Docket, Department of Curriculum and Teaching, 243 Mason GW, 113 Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY 11549. Tel: 516-463-5853; Fax: 516-463-6196; e-mail: CATAJS@Hofstra.edu. For full text: http:/ /www.nyscss.org/pubs.htm.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Social Science Docket; v2 n2 Sum-Fall 2002
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Citizenship Education; *Democracy; Elementary Secondary Education; *Futures (of Society); Geography; Global Approach; Instructional Materials; Multicultural Education; *Social Studies; War; *World History
IDENTIFIERS	Global Issues; September 11th Attacks

ABSTRACT

This publication is dedicated to social studies education at all levels. Articles and teaching ideas in this issue are: "Defending Multicultural Education, Academic Freedom, and Democracy in the Wake of 9/11/01" (A. Singer); "Teachers Respond to 'Defending Multicultural Education'"; "'Any Other Day': Dealing with the Tragedy of the World Trade Center Disaster" (L. Klein); "Civic Learning through Deliberation" (R. H. McKenzie; L. Hellerman); "Representative Democracy: A New Perspective" (A. Rosenthal; M. Fisher); "Defending First Amendment Rights in Schools" (M. Pezone); "Human Rights Education at the Dawn of the 21st Century" (D. N. Banks); "Nuclear Controversy: Sourcebook for an Inquiry Curriculum" (A. Shapiro); "A History of Great Britain and the U.S. in the Middle East" (A. Singer); "Understanding a Globalized World" (P. Bell); "Book Reviews"; "Talking with Children about War, Peace and Hope" (J. Y. Singer); "What Social Studies Teachers Should Know about AIDS in South Africa" (S. Hoffman); "Museum of Slavery Project" (S. Hunte; R. G. Thompson; R. Kurtz); "Stand and Deliver: A Technique to Bring the Teaching of Essential Questions to Life" (K. Sheehan; G. Kalner); "Current Events Matters for Elementary Students and Teachers" (A. Libresco); "Ideas for Using Computers in Your Seventh Grade Social Studies Class" (J. Debler); "Social Studies Resources on the Web" (P. Trapani); "Reconstruction: A Failure or a Success?" (A. Stevens); "The American Civil War as a Cause for Canadian Confederation" (D. June); "From Yenan to the Yangtze: A Unit on Chinese Geography" (C. Snyder); and "Jazz Up Social Studies" (C. B. Weatherford). (BT)

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ED 466 987

Issues for the 21st Century.

Alan Singer, Editor

New Jersey Council for the Social Studies.
New York State Council for the Social Studies.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE DOCKET

A Joint Publication of the New York and New Jersey State Councils for the Social Studies

Volume 2 Number 2

Special Theme Section: Issues for the 21st Century

Human Rights Education at the Dawn of the 21st Century
Nuclear Controversy: Sourcebook for an Inquiry Curriculum
A History of Great Britain and the U.S. in the Middle East
Understanding a Globalized World
Talking with Children about War, Peace and Hope
AIDS in South Africa

Defending Multicultural Education, Academic Freedom and Democracy in the Wake of 9/11/01
"Any Other Day": Dealing with the Tragedy of the World Trade Center Disaster
Civic Learning Through Deliberation * Representative Democracy
Defending First Amendment Rights in Schools * Museum of Slavery Project
A Technique to Bring the Teaching of Essential Questions to Life
Current Events Matters for Elementary Students and Teachers
Ideas for Using Computers in Your Seventh Grade Social Studies Class
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The American Civil War as a Cause for Canadian Confederation
From Yenan to the Yangtze: A Unit on Chinese Geography * Jazz Up Social Studies

Social Science Docket / Volume 2 Number 2 Summer-Fall, 2002

Introducing the Councils . . . .

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NJCSS, P.O. BOX 6745, Bridgewater, NJ 08807 (www.njcss.org)

The NJCSS is the only statewide association in New Jersey devoted solely to social studies education. A major goal and accomplishment of the NJCSS has been to bring together educators from all social studies disciplines, including history, economics, political science, sociology, geography, anthropology, and psychology. Our members are elementary, intermediate, secondary and college educators as well as other professionals who share the commitment to the social studies. Together, NJCSS members work toward a better understanding of the social studies and its importance in developing responsible participation in social, political, and economic life. Membership application on page 67.

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Social Science Docket

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Defending Multicultural Education, Academic Freedom and Democracy in the Wake of 9/11/01

by Alan Singer, editor, *Social Science Docket*

Our goal is to have every issue of *Social Science Docket* include an essay on a key social studies concept or controversy in order to stimulate responses from readers and debate in the New Jersey and New York Councils for the Social Studies. This essay focuses on the role of multicultural education in social studies and issues that emerged following the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Prior to publication, the essay was circulated among social studies teachers at local meetings, through council newsletters and via e-mail. Teachers were asked to respond to the essay, discuss how they approach multiculturalism and discuss their views on teaching about the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon and the United States response. Selected responses are included at the end of the article.

At 9 AM on the morning of September 11, 2001, I was visiting student teachers at a junior high school in Queens, New York. We first learned of events at the World Trade Center when one of the cooperating teachers received a cell phone call from his sister. She was sobbing because her husband worked on a top floor in one of the towers and she feared he was dead. I spent the next several months meeting with teachers, teacher education students, secondary school students and community groups in the New York metropolitan area trying to make sense of the events of that day and the United States response. In numerous discussions, there was much disagreement and sometimes arguments became heated. But there was always a basic respect for participants during our discourse.

I found the response in the mainstream national media to questioning U.S. policy and active dissent very different. Multicultural education, academic freedom, and the freedom to dissent, came under attack in a campaign reminiscent of the witchhunts, silencing and violation of democratic rights of McCarthyism in the 1950s. War against the ungodly evil of "Terrorism" replaced war against the ungodly evil of "Communism," with much of the same recycled rhetoric. Raising questions about U.S. policy – asking about military goals or evidence of complicity with terrorism– became grounds for suspected disloyalty. In another disturbing trend, "God Bless America" superceded "The Star Spangled Banner," became an unofficial national anthem, and was used as a way to circumvent constitutional prohibitions against prayer in public schools.

It was not surprising that "shock" radio demagogues and televangelists like Rush Limbaugh, Michael Savage, Billy Graham, Jr., Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell denounced liberal left-wing treachery and conspiracies. After all, they stir up their audiences for a living. In a much publicized flub, Falwell charged that "the American Civil Liberties Union, with abortion providers, gay rights proponents and federal courts that had banned school prayer and legalized abortion, had so weakened the United States spiritually that the nation was left exposed to Tuesday's terrorist attacks" (Niebuhr, 2001).

What was more frightening was that supposedly responsible conservative forces joined the campaign. Chester E. Finn Jr., accused proponents of multiculturalism of shortchanging patriotism (Hartocollis, 2001a). Lynne Cheney, denounced educators who wanted American schools to expand efforts to teach habits of tolerance, knowledge and awareness of other cultures (Hartocollis, 2001b). The American Council of Trustees and Alumni, a non-profit group devoted to curbing "liberal tendencies in academia" accused dozens of scholars of "unpatriotic behavior" for either seeking to understand the reasons for the attack or questioning the United States response and their report was granted legitimacy by an article in *The New York Times* (Eakin, 2001).

Diane Ravitch, a former official in the federal Department of Education, was the point person of this assault and lent it a veneer of academic legitimacy. Ravitch, who is affiliated with New York University and a fellow of the Manhattan Institute, a conservative think-tank, used the events of September 11, 2001 in her ongoing campaign against multicultural education.

In one widely circulated essay, Diane Ravitch declared that "we must not teach children to tolerate those who hijack commercial jetliners and kill innocent victims. We must not teach children to tolerate fanaticism, be it political or religious" (Ravitch, 2001). But she never identified anyone who was doing this. Why not? Because no one was. This was an ad hominem attack in an effort to silence people who were protesting against the bombing of Afghanistan under the banner "Our Grief is not a Call for War."

MONEY FOR Schools NOT FOR WAR

Demonstrators protest against the World Economic Forum in New York City on February 2, 2002.

Ravitch described the attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon as "mass murders" which equated them with the Holocaust and other acts of genocide. Yes, the attack was horrific. Any attack on a civilian target is horrific, whether it is in New York City or Kabul. But the events of September 11, 2001 did not compare in magnitude with a number of actions taken by the United States since World War II, including the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the systematic destruction of Vietnam, Iraq, and now, Afghanistan. Under Ravitch's criteria, are American's mass murders? Or does it only count when it is done by someone else?

I was especially disturbed by Ravitch's use of the events of September 11, 2001 to discredit multicultural education. She claimed that "multiculturalism, as it is taught in the United States, is dangerous for a democratic, multiethnic society because it encourages people 'to think of themselves not as individuals, but primarily in terms of their membership in groups.'" In addition, she believes that "multicultural education teaches cultural relativism because it implies that "no group may make a judgment on any other."

Multicultural education does not encourage people to define themselves as members of ethnic groups. It does, however, affirm that people identify that way and that race, language, religion and ethnicity play significant roles in American society. Unlike Diane Ravitch, the motto "E Pluribus Unum" does not deny the existence or value of the pluribus.

In addition, I know of no self-defined multiculturalist who rejects making judgments about deeds such as the attacks on September 11, 2001. Explaining and justifying an event are not the same thing! What multiculturalists reject is making judgments about groups of people. That is why they challenge racism, ethnocentrism, homophobia and gender-bias and support respect for diversity. Unlike Diane Ravitch, George W. Bush or Osama bin Laden, multiculturalists do not believe there is a universal truth that has been granted only to us. They try to be more tentative and thoughtful before condemning those who disagree with us.

Ravitch professes to "hear expressions of cultural relativism when avant-garde thinkers tell us that we must try to understand why the terrorists chose to kill thousands of innocent people, and that we must try to understand why others in the world hate America." But her problem is not with avant-garde thinkers; it is with citizens, both liberals and conservatives, committed to the value of democratic dialogue and with historians who see their task as one of explanation. Again, explaining and justifying an event are not the same thing! For example, according to a 1995 Rand Institute publication (Fuller and Lesser), "(t)he Islamic world feels itself under siege from the West in numerous vital political, military, cultural, social, and economic realms. This feeling of siege has several sources: the perception of victimization and Western onslaught based on historical and psychological grounds,...; 'objective' internal pressures generated by the process of modernization and related social and economic tensions...; and conscious, direct pressure from the West in the policy arena" (81). Is this policy analysis an example of cultural relativism?

Ravitch claims to be an historian and her essay was distributed by the National Council for History Education through their newsletter, *History Matters!* (November, 2001). As an historian and a teacher, I encourage students to question, to develop criteria for evaluation and to demand to see evidence before they reach a conclusion about events in the past and present. Working with public school teachers and teacher educators, I distributed a simple lesson that a number of the teachers used in their classes to evaluate events of September 11, 2001 and the United States response. We divided the front board into four columns. What we know. What we need to know. How we feel about what happened. What we think should happen next. Working individually, in groups or as a full class, students filled in the columns and then discussed what they had written. Our goals were to help students distinguish between fact and opinion, substantiated information and rumor, and emotion and reason. We challenged stereotypes and stressed the difference between Islam, a religion of over a billion believers, many of whom live in the United States, and the actions of one organized group or a few individuals. We also laid the basis for a long term investigation of why the attack took place so students could analyze underlying and immediate causes, understand why many people in other countries believe they have been injured by the United States and its allies, and participate in debate over United States policy decisions. Many of the teachers are having students use the internet to collect newspaper articles from around the world on the attack and the United States response. Comparing reports will help students see multiple perspectives that may be overlooked by local media.

Puppet declares "No WEF."

As a United States citizen I am proud to stand with Abraham Lincoln, who in 1847 risked his political career by defying a President who misled the American people in order to launch an imperialist venture against a neighboring country. I stand with Congressional Representative Jeannette Rankin and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan who resisted pressure to support World War I and U.S. involvement in a "commercial war." I stand with Senator Wayne Morse who denounced the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and warned "that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake." I stand with Congressional Representative Barbara Lee, who cast the only dissenting vote on September 14, 2001. Lee begged her colleagues not to rush to judgment. "Far too many innocent people have already died. Our country is in mourning. If we rush to launch a counter-attack, we run too great a risk that women, children, and other non-combatants will be caught in the crossfire. Nor can we let our justified anger over these outrageous acts by vicious murderers inflame prejudice against all Arab Americans, Muslims, Southeast Asians, or any other people because of their race, religion, or ethnicity."

I believe the United States government and the American people must become concerned with a global economic system that produces gross international inequalities. It is a system, maintained by United States military power, that permits one nation, with 5 percent of the world's people, to consume 35 percent of its resources. It is a system that consigns millions of people to the refugee camps, battered cities and desiccated villages and fields of the Middle East and produces waves of young people with little hope of advancement and very little to lose. I call for teaching democracy, social justice, and a world where people can live in peace. If this be cultural or moral relativism, I plead guilty.

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High School Level Activity:

Is it Acceptable to Question Government Policies in a Time of National Emergency?

It can be very difficult and politically risky to challenge government policies during a time of national emergency. The following elected representatives spoke out against war at different times in United States history. Examine each statement carefully and use your textbook or other sources to learn more about the situation the United States was facing at the time.

1. What is the main point raised by the speaker?
2. In your opinion, were they wrong to dissent in this way? Explain why or why not.
3. If you were a constituent, would you have voted for them for reelection? Explain why or why not.

Resolution introduced by Congressman Abraham Lincoln (1847)

"Whereas the President of the United States has declared that 'the Mexican Government. . . has at last invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil.' And whereas, This House is desirous to obtain a full knowlegde of all the facts which go to establish whether the particular spot on which the blood of our citizens was so shed was or was not at that time our own soil; there, Resolved by the House of Representatives, that the President of the United States, be respectfully requested to inform the House . . . (w)hether the people of that settlement, or a majority of them, or any of them, has ever, previous to the bloodshed mentioned in his message, submitted themselves to the government or laws of Texas, or of the United States, by consent, or by compulsion, either by accepting office, or voting at elections, or paying taxes, or serving on juries, or having process served upon them, or in any way."

Representative Jeannette Rankin Opposes U.S. Entry into World War I (1917)

"I knew that we were asked to vote for a commercial war, that one of the idealistic hopes would be carried out, and I was aware of the falseness of much of the propaganda. It was easy to stand against the pressure of the militarists, but very difficult to go against the friends and dear ones who felt that I was making a needless sacrifice by voting against the war, since my vote would not be a decisive one. . . . I said I would listen to those who wanted war and would not vote until the last opportunity and if I could see any reason for going to war I would change it."

Senator Wayne Morse votes "NO!" on the the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1965)

"I believe that history will record that we have made a grave mistake in subverting and circumventing the Constitution of the United States. . . . I believe that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake."

Statement by Representative Barbara Lee (September 14, 2001)

"I rise today with a heavy heart, one that is filled with sorrow for the families and loved ones who were killed and injured in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Only the most foolish or the most callous would not understand the grief that has gripped the American people and millions across the world. This unspeakable attack on the United States has forced me to rely on my moral compass, my conscience, and my God for direction. . . .

There must be some of us who say, let's step back for a moment and think through the implications of our actions today -- let us more fully understand its consequences. We are not dealing with a conventional war. We cannot respond in a conventional manner. I do not want to see this spiral out of control. This crisis involves issues of national security, foreign policy, public safety, intelligence gathering, economics, and murder. Our response must be equally multi-faceted.

We must not rush to judgment. Far too many innocent people have already died. Our country is in mourning. If we rush to launch a counter-attack, we run too great a risk that women, children, and other non-combatants will be caught in the crossfire. Nor can we let our justified anger over these outrageous acts by vicious murderers inflame prejudice against all Arab Americans, Muslims, Southeast Asians, or any other people because of their race, religion, or ethnicity."

Teachers Respond to Defending Multiculturalism

Norman Markowitz, History, Department, Rutgers University-New Brunswick, NJ:

Unity in wartime in the United States has very rarely meant an absence of strong criticism of government policies, although governments have sought to silence criticism in wartime. The War of 1812 saw extensive criticism of government policies by former Federalists and New England commercial interests, who even launched an ill-fated secession movement. The Mexican War was actively condemned by abolitionists on the left who denounced it as a war to expand slavery, and more moderately by anti-slavery Whigs or liberals like congressman Abraham Lincoln, whose vote in support of war credits, he noted, didn't mean blind adherence to the policies of the Polk administration. During the Civil War, certainly the most significant conflict in the history of the Republic, Lincoln faced greater and more savage attacks than any president until Lyndon Johnson, from conservative "peace" Democrats on his right and, to a much lesser extent, abolitionists on his left. The Anti-Imperialist League, including such figures as Andrew Carnegie and Mark Twain, strongly criticized the McKinley administration's annexationist policies during the Spanish-American War and even widespread repression and extreme anti-civil liberties' legislation like the Espionage and Sedition Acts did not stay extensive opposition and criticism of the Wilson administration's policies during WWI.

While the Roosevelt administration avoided repressive legislation and, with the monstrous exception of the incarceration of Japanese - Americans, widespread repression during WWII, it faced extensive criticism from conservative Republicans and the media over its conduct of the war, particularly its "Europe-first" concentration against Hitler instead of an "Asia-first" concentration against Japan. When U.S. diplomats worked out a deal with Vichy French admiral Jean Darlan to break with Vichy that temporarily left a fascist administration in power in French North Africa, New Deal liberal and labor media were intensely critical of the move.

All of this, long before the Vietnam War, was the rule rather than the exception. It is in wartime, particularly in a conflict like this where the enemy and how-to-fight the enemy is very murky, that active criticism is most useful to keep governments from becoming drunk with power and doing real damage, both to the society, and, often, to an effective war effort. Real and effective national participation in a war has never been about passive flag-waving, but about active involvement, participation, and informed citizenship. Without serious policy debate and discussion, all of that is impossible.

Melisa Baker, Wisdom Middle School, Levittown, NY:

Multicultural education was under attack long before the tragic events of September 11, 2001. However, in the wake of the attacks, it became easier for its opponents, in the name of patriotism and national unity, to challenge its premises. I believe that most of the arguments against multicultural education stem from ignorance. Multicultural education does not teach students to be tolerant of terrorist acts. What multicultural education does teach is that it is okay to be different, that being tolerant of other ideas and practices is important, and that respect for yourself and other people is the most important thing anyone can teach or learn. A commitment to multicultural education is more important now than ever. Students need to learn that cultural differences do not make us enemies. Islam does not equal terrorism and terrorism does not equal Islam. Teachers must ensure that students understand that battle lines are not drawn along cultural boundaries.

Frank A. Juzwiak, Jr., Patchogue-Medford High School, Patchogue, NY:

Dismissal of any position for the sole reason that it is extreme, or inflammatory is unacceptable for anyone responsible for teaching young minds to live in today's world. We are responsible to teach history. We are responsible for exposing students of history to the fact that history is multi-dimensional and effected by a multitude of stimulations from an almost limitless source of interactions. We need to allow students to experience many of these stimulants to allow them to choose the course they wish to follow, and not direct them down a path.

Asking students to discuss the causes and effects of 9/11 without providing the background, the history of the people involved, is unrealistic. The events are too recent, too emotional for young minds to analyze with objectivity. The young are emotional. We must allow them to be emotional during the time of their history. It is called passion, a very powerful motivator to learning.

Along those lines, overt patriotism is not counter-productive. It serves a purpose. The discourse generated in these emotional times is a result of the time, and a result of the history leading up to these times. To ask anyone to separate the time from history is educationally irresponsible.

The use of Lincoln's position opposing the attacks 1847 needs to be balanced by his decision to suspend habeas corpus during the Civil War. Lincoln argued that he had to suspend the Constitution in order to preserve it. In fact, this is an ambiguity that would spark a very good series of lessons. The students need to understand the foundation of the events leading to both positions.

The difficulty of discussing 9/11 is timing. I remember growing-up during the Vietnam War. Looking back on that time I now can see, from the comfort of 30 years later, the swing in America's emotion. I can also understand it better 30 years later. I can also see the importance of learning about the various positions that effected the events of that time long ago.

I suppose that 30 years from now, my students will look back on this time from their comfortable positions and have a greater understanding of events. Let them experience the emotions of the time. The victors of every battle justify their actions at the time of battle. History will be the judge based on the morality of their time. Lincoln, Truman, Johnson, Nixon will be judged over and over again. Many times they will be called heroes and at other times villains. History will be their judge.

Michelle Sarro, St. Clares School, Rosedale, NY:

There is nothing in my understanding of multicultural education that say I cannot condemn the acts of September 11th or the violence that takes place daily in the Middle East. What my respect for multiculturalism does is urge me to look deeper, to try and understand the "why" whenever possible, and not to caste shadows on an entire race, ethnic group or religion because of the acts of a few. When the United States was denied permission to include the flag from Ground Zero in the Olympic opening procession, cries went out about the insensitivity of the Olympic Committee to the citizens of this country. The committee argued that "the whole world has suffered" and "no one has offered or given such an honor before." It is an important point. Our current tragedy, as sad as it is, is little more than a broken arm in comparison to the suffering witnessed throughout history and around the globe today.

The purpose of multiculturalism is to promote understanding and acceptance so that students enter the working world with open minds, respect for one another and a commitment to making the world a better place. Students need to embrace and celebrate the diversity of all peoples. Without multicultural education we assure the continuation and escalation of the prejudice, ignorance and hatred which currently tear the world apart.

Laura Pearson, South Woods Middle School, Syosset, NY:

History, if we let it, teaches a number of important lessons. Countries that bury their heads in the sand and ignore outside events and the ideas and aspirations of people from other cultures risk defeat as a result of their own ignorance. Promotion of "mass patriotism," such as I witnessed at Super Bowl XXXVI, silences dissent and puts a nation in jeopardy of making decisions based on its own propaganda. I teach students to look at the world with a critical lens, to sift evidence carefully, and to develop clear criteria for making judgements before reaching conclusions. I want them to do these things when they study about the Middle East and Central Asia and when they examine the role of the United States as a global power. Looking for reasons behind the attack on the World Trade Center does not mean teachers condone what happened. While I personally hope the United States presents a united front in the fight against terrorism, I do not want to undermine democratic values by pressuring everyone to be the same or hold the same views. This country is strongest when it values multiple perspectives and respects differences.

Jay Kreutzberger, Calhoun High School, Merrick, NY:

The tragedy of 9-11-01 underscores the need for a sound strategy to incorporate multiculturalism into the education of American children. Our goal, that students become knowledgeable and respectful of differences between ethnicities and cultures in the United States as well as the world, is vital for the successful interaction between ethnic groups and the breakdown of the barriers that separate people and nations. The fact that the terrorists were Muslim does not condemn all Muslim people. Almost 20% of the world's population is Islamic and a quick lesson about religion would reveal to students that the majority of its followers' core beliefs include peace, charity and serving their community.

As a supporter of multicultural education, I believe the terrorist attacks on 9-11-01 required immediate action by the United States with the support of its allies. A quick counter-attack dramatically reduced the window of opportunity for terrorists to run, hide or launch further attacks. That said, the number of civilian casualties must be kept as low as humanly possible to demonstrate to the people of the Islamic world that the United States government and the American people do not perpetuate horrific actions against innocent individuals. Our message to the world must be, "We respect differences between our cultures and understand that all Muslim people should not be held accountable for the actions of a few." The future of global relations depends on this message being clearly conveyed and accepted.

Gloria Sesso, Director of Social Studies, Patchogue-Medford Schools, Patchogue, NY:

When I first read Dr. Singer's essay, I was puzzled over his interpretation of Diane Ravitch's essay from *History Matters* (November, 2001). Consequently, I reread her essay and confirmed my first impression that the purpose and meaning of her article was misinterpreted. As her title indicates, "History Education, Now More Than Ever," she is advocating the importance of teaching world history in order to develop the habits of mind that promote critical thinking and analysis. These are the thinking habits that Dr. Singer advocates and tries to promote in the lesson using the four columns of "What we know, What we need to know, How we feel about what happened and What should happen next." Her article condemns responding to events with facile judgements and present minded history.

There is an integral relationship between content and the process. To advocate content alone is to posit indoctrination and to emphasize only process is to promote hot air and facile judgement. It is a misnomer to separate the two and they are inextricably connected in the history education that Professor Ravitch supports in her article. The National Council for History Education has developed a statement on "History's Habits of Mind" and they are what Dr. Ravitch is referring to and supporting for the teaching of history education. The habits that students should develop include grasping the complexity of historical causation, respecting particularity, and avoid excessively abstract generalizations; appreciating the often tentative nature of judgements about the past and thereby avoid excessively abstract generalizations; and reading widely and critically in order to recognize the difference between fact and conjecture, between evidence and assertion, and thereby to frame useful questions.

History education in a democratic society should foster ideas and develop the ability to question and debate, and history education should not become captive to political interest groups and their various agendas. I would suggest the following guidelines for integrating cultural perspectives.

Diane Ravitch suggests in her essay "Multiculturalism" in *The American Scholar* (October, 1991), "the emphasis ought to be on diversity of voices, in order to understand our culture, past and present." Then and now, the emphasis is on history education that sustains the idea that the common culture is formed by an interaction of the subsidiary cultures. The United States has a common culture that is multicultural. America has provided a haven for many groups and has allowed them to maintain their culture or to assimilate or do both.

The European basis of American civilization is fostered and developed by the teaching of the ideas of the Greeks, Romans, Newton, Locke, Hobbes, the Enlightenment philosophers, the development of English democracy and the impact of the French and Russian Revolutions. At the same time, the developments in imperialism, racism and exploitation should be explained and analyzed. The strengths and weaknesses, the advantages and disadvantages, the negative and positive impact of movements, trends and cultural hegemony is the focus of understanding and debate. In a world history program, the traditions and cultures of China, Japan, India, the nations of Africa, the Middle East and Latin America should be integrated. The present program for grades 9 and 10 in New York incorporates this with an emphasis on uniqueness and cultural diffusion.

The tools of analysis, such as identifying bias and understanding cause and effect relationships, should be explicitly taught and used to process information. Before engaging in large scale judgements about causation, students need to learn the tools of analysis and historical developments. Sociological generalizations on recent events based on superficial knowledge and evaluative conclusions distort the purpose and meaning of teaching history's habits of mind.

"Any Other Day": Dealing With The Tragedy Of The World Trade Center Disaster

by Laurence Klein

"Any Other Day" was a creative interdisciplinary project that provided teaching and learning in and through the arts. It was my intention to show how important the arts can be for school children who were dealing with the traumatic aftermath of the massive destruction, injury and loss of life caused by the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. As a social studies teacher at JHS 168Q in Queens, New York, I wanted to give my students an opportunity to express their feelings through art and music as a type of healing process. We could not help feeling angry and sad. However, this project gave us an opportunity to share and touch the lives of others, and to enrich them. My students wanted to become involved in assisting the community and those directly affected by the tragedy.

Because our school is a performing arts school, I began an effort to organize student artists who were capable of sharing their talents in times of great sorrow. I was also very interested in utilizing the school's service learning program to help students incorporate community service experiences into their education. Students in one service learning group that assists at a local elementary school were all members of the 9th Grade Chorus.

The writing, recording and mass production of a musical CD was a collective attempt for students to become aware that they could take their talents, take the gifts they have been given and use them to benefit others. The song provided an outlet to express their sorrows, anger, or helplessness - and transform those feelings into the vision they see of the future - a world ruled by peace. The students did not just talk about a problem in the world; I feel they did something substantial. They became young men and women increasingly aware of the world around them and its problems. "Any Other Day" was an important time for students to consider that creative energy will always overcome destructive forces. To order a copy of our CD, contact contact Laurence Klein at *Parsons168@hotmail.com* or Parsons JHS 168 158-40 76th Road Flushing, New York 11366-1032.

"Any Other Day" Words and Music Written by Joy A. Weil
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An ordinary morning, smoke clouds filled the air,
We knew that something wasn't right up there.
An ordinary morning, turned out very wrong-
Now we join together, this forced us to be strong.

Any other day - the sun would always shine.
Any other day - everything would be fine.
So we look to the lady with a torch that
lights the sky - As we try to figure
out all the reasons why - All the reasons why.

People stood in silence, looking at the skies.
Terror filled the air, as teardrops filled our eyes.
What about the children, sitting all alone?
How do they survive if Daddy never made it home?

People stood in silence, looking at the skies.
Terror filled the air, as teardrops filled our eyes.
What about the children, sitting all alone?
How do they survive if Daddy never made it home?

Any other day - the sun would always shine.
Any other day - everything would be fine.
So we look to the lady with a torch that
lights the sky - As we try to figure
out all the reasons why- All the reasons why.

6,000 leave this town, 2 towers crashing down -
This eleventh day in September - We will not forget.
We will remember!

An ordinary morning - not an ordinary day
Something wasn't right inside the U.S.A. -
We can overcome this, we must win this war -
If we find the "PEACE" then this won't happen
anymore!

Any other day - the sun would always shine.
Any other day - everything would be fine.
So we look to the lady with a torch that
lights the sky - As we try to figure
out all the reasons why- All the reasons why.

Civic Learning Through Deliberation

By Robert H. McKenzie with Leon Hellerman

Robert H. McKenzie is an associate of the Kettering Foundation, Dayton, Ohio, and emeritus professor, New College, University of Alabama. Leon Hellerman, former chairperson of social studies at George W. Hewlett High School in New York, helped prepare this article. A longer version of this article was previously published in *NSEE Quarterly* (Winter 1996), 1, 20-23, and is condensed here with permission. National Issues Forums, 100 Commons Road, Dayton, Ohio 45459-2777, 1-800-433-7834. The NIF website (*www.nifi.org*) lists materials available to assist teachers and Public Policy Institute sites and contact persons. Most take place during the summer months.

Contemporary involvement in politics is predominantly angrily adversarial or alarmingly absent. Civic learning through deliberative pedagogy enhances needed civic capacity to address these ineffective extremes.

These extremes stem from a common root: too often, formal political processes treat citizens as consumers. When citizens begin to see themselves as consumers rather than as owners of government, they become passive. Critics describe them as apathetic. When spurred to action, citizens too often conceive of politics simply as influencing government to achieve partisan ends. The result is often adversarial gridlock, or at best, constantly shifting policies as first one group, then another, achieves a transient 51 percent majority.

In recent years, citizen anger with formal processes has increased - to the point of great suspicion of, even retreat from, participation in public affairs. Alarmingly, the reaction of students has been less that of anger than of disengagement. The loss of democratic memory, what it means to engage in effective public problem solving, bodes ill for the republic.

For democracy to survive, citizens must realize that they have responsibilities that cannot be delegated: to establish the legitimacy of government, to provide direction for its policies, to create and sustain political will, and to evaluate the work of government and other social institutions.

The Relationship of Educational Purpose to the Civic Challenge

Citizens are made, not born. Citizenship, like any skill and the understanding that undergirds it, is learned by practicing. We learn to make good choices, the essence of civic effectiveness, through experiences in making choices and reflecting upon the consequences of those choices.

In order for politics to work, citizens must be actors. To act together, citizens must make choices. To make choices, citizens must engage in deliberative dialogue across diversity, not just within their own interests. To use deliberation effectively, citizens must make public judgments and create a coherent public voice. That public voice creates common ground for complementary action.

Pedagogical Choices for Civic Learning

Where and how do students realize their responsibilities and develop the skills to exercise them? Three approaches are in the public mind. One is service-learning. Another is learning deliberative skills. Another is democratizing the campus. These choices are not mutually exclusive. Examining the pros and cons of each as a separate choice provides a deeper understanding of how they all might be formed into effective educational philosophy and practice.

Advocates of *service-learning* believe schools are isolated from public life. This educational isolation contributes to the lack of civic-mindedness among students. Students need increased opportunities for involvement in the community. Involvement in community challenges is a powerful motivation for lifelong civic engagement.

Critics of service-learning are first worried by the prospect of mandatory service requirements. Few people object to allowing students to perform voluntary service in their free time, but many critics believe it inappropriate and unnecessary for all students to meet a public service requirement. They worry about the depth of intellectual quality in service-learning. Other critics argue a more subtle point. They are concerned that service-learning stresses therapeutic values at the expense of more fundamental civic skills.

Advocates of acquiring *deliberative skills* believe that the current lack of commitment to our political system is the result of failure of deliberative skills in our society. In this view, the core of public life is not yelling at one another but struggling together with differing perspectives and priorities and then exercising public judgment on consistent direction for public policy. Advocates of this approach sometimes charge that the popular idea of critical thinking is taught too often as an individual skill, not also as a group endeavor. They stress the need to educate students in deliberative discussion and group problem solving.

Critics of this approach believe that it puts too much stress on something that students learn to do anyway. People exercise the skills of listening and working together in their private lives without any particular practice or training. Should institutions spend precious time and resources to address these skills?

This criticism leads to a third basic approach to teaching civic skills - *democratizing the campus* to ensure that students understand democracy by living it. Proponents of this approach argue that schools are themselves anti-democratic, hierarchical institutions that do not create an atmosphere favorable to the teaching or practice of civic skills. Students with little real opportunity for participation within educational institutions become graduates who are unwilling and unable to assume responsibilities in public life. Advocates of this approach believe that a more egalitarian, democratic school teaches democratic politics most effectively.

Critics argue that schools are not intended to be democracies at all. Students bear little responsibility for the continuing character of the schools they attend. Empowering students to practice democracy distracts them from their intellectual purposes in the same manner as service-learning.

As this brief discussion suggests, each of these basic approaches has strengths and weaknesses. Obviously, no one of these approaches alone is sufficient for the task of building citizenship. Each school must examine itself and its environment carefully to determine how best to address the need for civic learning.

The Case for Deliberative Learning

The preceding section was a very brief exercise in deliberating choices. The quintessential political act in an effective democracy is making an intelligent choice. Just as institutions make choices about their best approaches, citizens must make choices about life together as a public. We learn to make better choices by making choices, experiencing their consequences, learning from them, and applying that learning to new choices. In a democracy, these choices are not only individual, they are collective. A primary challenge for developing effective democracy is learning how to make choices that affect everyone with others, not to others, nor over others. This learning together from our choices is how the public learns the public's business.

Deliberation is the way in which citizens collectively reflect on personal experiences and ideas about those experiences. It is also derived from reflection on the observations of others (from the ancients through history to contemporaries) about the meaning of similar experiences over time. In making collective decisions, these individual perspectives must be brought into juxtaposition with one another.

Teaching deliberative skills immerses students in judging the effect of applications of past judgment. The element of judgment coverts deliberation from mere speculation about meaning. Deliberation aims at application. The word literally means "to weight." Deliberation compares multiple experiences and ideas about experiences (together the record of past experimentation); weighs their advantages, disadvantages, and tradeoffs; and forms a judgement about an idea for future applications and how to implement them.

Charles Anderson, author of several books on education for democracy, asserts that the overall objective of deliberation is for each participant to broaden her or his sense of all considerations that bear on custom and policy. By assimilating the points of others, citizens develop a mysterious capacity. People speculating in the presence of others may produce perspectives or positions that could not have been previously anticipated by any of the participants beforehand. Deliberation, therefore, is not only reasoned, it is creative. And that creativity is not merely brainstorming; it is purposeful in moving toward application.

Resources from National Issues Forum

A resource for understanding how deliberation takes place is the seventeen-year experience of the National Issues Forums (NIF) program. Each year, NIF produces at least three issue books on matters of national importance. Some 6,000 or more organizations participated in NIF last year. The number of participating organizations is not as remarkable as their diversity: social and community organizations of all sorts, libraries, literacy programs, prisons, churches and synagogues, high schools and colleges, neighborhood associations, housing projects, etc. Approximately half the number of sponsoring organizations are high school and college classrooms.

The cumulative reflections of yearly forums are reviewed in an annual program, "A Public Voice," conducted each spring at the National Press Club. An annual video of this event is the most shown public affairs program on Public Broadcasting System affiliates.

NIF develops understanding and skill in convening and moderating deliberative forums through 30 Public Policy Institutes (PPIs) around the country. One of the participating organizations in the NIF network is the Kettering Foundation in Dayton, Ohio, an educational research foundation. Kettering has for 17 years engaged in action research on deliberative democracy as it is occurring in NIF programs. The essence of those research findings follows.

Deliberation is learned experientially, but it is familiar behavior. People make decisions, personally and collectively, by deliberating - at various levels of effectiveness. But, people have difficulty transferring deliberative skills to arenas which they perceive to be "politics." Hence, a key aspect of building deliberative skills as citizens involves understanding of the word "politics" to include all those ways, not just government, in which citizens make decisions together about their common life.

Deliberation is different from debate and from mere polite conversation or satisfying group dynamics. Deliberation is not therapeutic (although therapeutic releases may occur). Deliberation is political. It involves making choices that have real applications and consequences. Deliberation requires framing of an issue always with more than two choices, hence deliberation lies outside the dynamics of debate involving only two polarized positions.

Participants in deliberation must listen as well as speak. The task of deliberation is to understand all the choices and how participants see them, not to "win" a contest. A measure of effectiveness is the ability to make a good case for the choice one likes the least as well as the choice one likes the most. Consequently, all choices before a group must be given full consideration. Participants must move toward a choice, not merely analysis. Deliberation uncovers common ground for action and political will to implement that action. To assess progress, a group participating in deliberation reflects at the end on how individual perspectives may have changed, how the group's perspectives may have changed, and what needs further deliberation.

Above all, deliberating together is learning together through joint reflection. A self-governing, democratic society of necessity requires a self-educating, learning citizenry.

References

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Anderson, C. (1990). *Prescribing the Life of the Mind* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).

National Issues Forums, 100 Commons Road, Dayton, Ohio 45459-2777. The NIF website (www.nifi.org) lists materials available to assist teachers and Public Policy Institute sites and contact persons. Most take place during the summer months.

Teaching Ideas: Participation in Government Portfolios

by Jim Carpenter, Union-Endicott High School, New York (Jcarpenter1@stny.rr.com)

Student Participation in Government Portfolios must include:

- Evidence of attending two governmental meetings.
- Evidence of completing at least ten hours of community service.
- A minimum of three personal reflections on issues discussed in class.
- A minimum of three summaries of current events articles.
- A personal critique of the course.
- Pictures.
- Other suitable items.

60% of the assessment is based on the quantitative component of the portfolio.
40% of the assessment is based on the qualitative component of the portfolio.

Representative Democracy: A New Perspective

by Alan Rosenthal and Michael Fisher

Alan Rosenthal is a professor at the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, New Brunswick. He holds an A.B. from Harvard and an M.A., M.P.A., and Ph.D. from Princeton. His books include *Legislative Life* (1982), *Governors and Legislatures* (1990), and *The Third House* (1993). Michael Fisher is director of Project Citizen for the Center for Civic Education, which is based in Calabasas, Ca. Rosenthal and Fischer are two of the co-authors of the mini-curriculum "A New Public Perspective on Representative Democracy," a brief guide designed to help social studies teachers familiarize students and other citizens with representative democracy. The guide was constructed in keeping with New Jersey's Core Curriculum Content Standards for social studies. N.J. Core Curriculum Content Standards for Social Studies/Standard 6.1 - All students will learn democratic citizenship and how to participate in the constitutional system of government in the U.S. Social studies must promote civic and democratic principles so that students become informed and active citizens. This means that they have to be able to analyze the balance between the rights and responsibilities of citizens, analyze the roles of the individual and the government, and analyze the functioning of government processes. For more information about civics education in New Jersey see www.eagleton.rutgers.edu/EIPConsortium.html.

The cynicism and distrust among Americans and among young Americans in particular can be deadly to our system of representative democracy. These attitudes play a role in undermining our political institutions, discouraging people from running for public office, curtailing citizen participation, and eroding respect for democratically made law. Our political system, political institutions, and political people are far from perfect. But they deserve understanding rather than all the negativity that is currently directed their way. Unfortunately, the views that most Americans hold are based not on knowledge and not on the civics education they received in the schools, but rather on the climate which has enveloped people and politics at least since the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal. This climate has bred almost nothing but negatives.

Negative Images

As a rule, the definition of news for the media is not what's right or working well, but what's wrong and not running smoothly. Beyond this, in today's competitive marketplace in their coverage of politicians and political institutions the media are most interested in offering their audience the sordid and the scandalous. Much of the rest is considered boring and unlikely to produce an audience.

Political campaigns also emphasize the negative. "I'm O.K., but my opponent is not." "You can trust me, but the others in public office are an untrustworthy lot." "The system is broken and corrupt. Elect me and I'll fix it." These slurs are made by both incumbents and challengers running for public office at every level of government. Everybody says it, so how can we, the people, not believe it!

The very processes by which we govern ourselves also gives rise to dissatisfaction. More groups than ever before are making demands on Congress and state legislatures, and groups and their members are less willing than they used to be to compromise on their agendas.

The legislative process - which is the engine of representative democracy - cannot realistically satisfy everyone, especially since many claims come into conflict with one another and not all can be implemented or funded adequately or funded at all. Our political system is not like the lottery: no one wins big, no one gets all that they think they need or deserve. Even if they come out ahead, it may not be far enough ahead, and they blame the politicians and the process for not doing better by them. American dyspepsia with politics, therefore, is not surprising. It is distressing, however, and not justified by the facts.

Public school teachers, in particular, should appreciate the plight of the political system. Like politics, public education is not well served by the negative environment in which it exists. The media report on the schools and teachers that are failing, not on the large majority - the ones that are succeeding. As a consequence, most people when polled give public education in the nation or in their states relatively low marks. When asked about schools in their community, however, the marks are higher. And when asked about the schools that their children attend, the marks are quite good indeed. Similarly, people think well of their own legislators, but not of the institutions in which their representatives serve and not the other legislators who serve with them.

New Civic Education Program Launched

The cynicism and distrust that dominate the environment have to be challenged. Three organizations - the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), the American Political Science Association (APSA), and the Center for Civic Education (CCE) - are embarking on a multi-year project to enhance civic education on representative democracy for students and citizens of all ages.

NCSL is a bipartisan organization composed of legislatures, legislators, and legislative staffs in the 50 states. APSA is the major professional society for people who study politics, government, and public policy in the U.S. and around the world. CCE is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization whose mission is to promote informed, responsible participation in civic life through a wide range of curricular, teacher-training, and community-based programs.

In collaboration with these organizations, four political scientists have formulated a mini-curriculum, titled "A New Public Perspective on Representative Democracy." "New public perspective" is based generally on the research of congressional and state legislative scholars, whose work presents a very different picture than that which most people have of our nation's legislative institutions. The perspective presented here offers teachers and their students an alternative - and more accurate - view of the political system in which they live.

Because everyone's life can be affected by a legislature's laws, it is important that people pay attention to and get involved in the political process. That means voting, joining groups, contacting elected public officials, and advocating interests and values. In our system of representative democracy, participation can and does make a difference.

As important as civic engagement may be, it is not enough. Americans need to have a sense of what their political system is about, how it works, and what they can and cannot expect from it. They need a perspective that describes representative democracy both as it is and as it should be, instead of perceptions that are far off the mark but nonetheless held by most people.

Critical Legislative Issues

The issues that the New Jersey Legislature and other legislatures deal with and decide are critical ones for people of all ages, including high school students. These include:

- Length of the school year;
- Requirements for auto inspections;
- Regulations involving abortion;
- Drinking age;
- Seat belt safety requirements;
- Air and water pollution regulations;
- Land set aside for parks and open spaces;
- Student testing requirements;
- Qualifications for teachers;
- Penalties for criminal behavior;
- Locations of highways;
- Levels of spending for public services, such as education, transportation, health, and social services.

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Defending First Amendment Rights in Schools

by Michael Pezone and students at Law, Government and Community Service Magnet High School

"The mission of the Law, Government and Community Service Magnet High School" in Cambria Heights, Queens, New York "is to develop academic, technological and social competencies as well as citizenship and leadership skills which will enable our students to grow as individuals and to interact positively in our global society." To support these goals, students take a series of law-related electives and law, government and community service themes are integrated into all curriculum areas. During the Fall, 2001 semester, in response to the destruction of the World Trade Center, the New York City "Board of Education unanimously adopted a resolution to require all public schools to lead students in the Pledge of Allegiance at the beginning of each school day and at all school-wide assemblies and school events."

Some confusion arose in my Constitutional Law class concerning the law governing behavior during the flag salute. In response, we contacted the New York Civil Liberties Union to clarify legal issues. They sent us a copy of a letter they had sent to the Chancellor of New York City schools (Document 1), and a copy of a memorandum from the Chancellor to all school principals and district superintendents notifying them that student and faculty participation in the Pledge was voluntary and that the rights of non-participants had to be respected. (Document 2).

Support from the Civil Liberties Union

The New York Civil Liberties Union's letter to the Chancellor reminded him of the Supreme Court's "landmark decision rejecting the compulsory Pledge of Allegiance" in the West Virginia State Board of Education et al. v. Barnette et al., 319 U.S. 624 (1943) (Document 3). In addition, subsequent court decisions "further amplified the First Amendment principles and clarified the rights of students who refuse to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. They are entitled to remain seated quietly in the classroom and cannot be removed or expelled from the classroom, or otherwise subjected to discipline, harassment or retaliation for their refusal to salute the flag." The NYCLU urged the Chancellor to develop and implement teacher training concerning the First Amendment rights of students and monitor and follow-up on complaints.

Few people are actually aware of the history of the Pledge of Allegiance. According to Bill Bigelow in an article in *Rethinking Schools* (Winter 2001/2002, www.rethinkingschools.org/sept11), it was written in 1892 by Francis Bellamy, and published in the national magazine *The Youth's Companion* to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Columbus' first voyage. President Benjamin Harrison proclaimed October 21 - the original Columbus Day - a national holiday, and designated schools to be the main sites of celebration. Students were instructed to start the pledge standing "in ordered ranks, hands to the side," while facing the flag. On signal, they gave a "military salute - right hand lifted, palm downward, to a line with the forehead and close to it. Standing thus, all repeat together, slowly, 'I pledge allegiance to my Flag and the Republic for which it stands; one Nation indivisible, with Liberty and Justice for all.' At the words, 'to my Flag,' the right hand is extended gracefully, palm upward, toward the Flag, and remains in this gesture till the end of the affirmation; whereupon all hands immediately drop to the side."

After reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, students were required to declare in unison: "One Country! One Language! One Flag!" The words "under God" do not appear in the original Pledge. They were added in 1954 at the height of anti-Communist Cold War hysteria. The arm-extended flag salute was the norm in United States schools until 1942, when it was dropped because of its similarity to the fascist salute. It was replaced by the hand-over-heart salute that is still used today.

Most students in the Constitutional Law class strongly supported saying the Pledge of Allegiance in class and participated on a regular basis. However, they were also concerned with defending the First Amendment rights of fellow students. Because of their concerns, the class decided to monitor both compliance with the directive's requirement that the Pledge of Allegiance be recited each day and its insurance of the freedom of dissent. They circulated a questionnaire in the school that asked students about their opinions on the issues, but also encouraged students to behave respectfully and responsibly during the pledge, informed them of their legal right not to participate, and asked them to report violations of the law (Document 4). The results of the student survey and student comments were distributed in the school magazine (Document 5).

Document 1. Statement by the New York Civil Liberties Union

I write to express the New York Civil Liberties Union's concerns regarding the Board of Education's resolution requiring all public "schools to lead students in the Pledge of Allegiance at the beginning of every school day and at all school-wide assemblies and school events." In its landmark decision rejecting the compulsory Pledge of Allegiance, the Supreme Court of the United States cautioned that "to believe that patriotism will not flourish if patriotic ceremonies are voluntary and spontaneous instead of a compulsory routine is to make an unflattering estimate of the appeal of our institutions to free minds." It is noteworthy that the Court rendered this decision in 1943, during World War II.

Whatever the patriotic wisdom of requiring schools to incorporate the Pledge into the school routine, the resolution correctly acknowledges that the Board of Education cannot compel any student to participate. This is a matter of political and religious freedom guaranteed by the First Amendment. See West Virginia State Board of Education et al. v. Barnette et al., 319 U.S. 624 (1943). Subsequent court decisions have further amplified the First Amendment principles and clarified the rights of students who refuse to recite the Pledge of Allegiance . They are entitled to remain seated quietly in the classroom and cannot be removed or expelled from the classroom, or otherwise subjected to discipline, harassment or retaliation for their refusal to salute the flag. Goetz v. Ansell, 477 F.2d 636 (2d Cir. 1973); see also Frain v. Baron, 307 F.Supp. 27 (E.D.N.Y. 1969); Matter of Bustin, 10 E.D.R. 168 (1971).

While the New York City schools can lawfully make the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance part of the daily school routine, the Board of Education bears a heavy responsibility to ensure that no student is compelled to participate. The Board must make sure that students are not subjected to retaliation, discipline or ostracism because of their views. This is particularly important because, as a result of the policy, students who object to reciting the Pledge of Allegiance must publicly express their opposition to their teachers and their peers in order to act in accordance with their beliefs.

We appreciate the Chancellor's strong statements that discrimination and intolerance have no place in the New York City schools. We believe that additional steps are necessary to meet the schools' constitutional obligation. Accordingly, the NYCLU requests that the Board of Education distribute a notice to principals, teachers and students to informing them that:

a. participation in the Pledge of Allegiance is entirely voluntarily and that no student or school employee shall be subject to discipline, retaliation, or ostracism for not participating;

b. students who choose not to participate shall be permitted to remain seated in the classroom and shall not be required to leave the room;

c. parents whose children have been subjected to harassment, retaliation or discipline as a result of their failure to participate on the pledge can contact a named individual at an identified phone number at the Board of Education for assistance.

We urge you to develop and implement teacher training concerning the First Amendment rights of students. The Chancellor's office should also monitor and follow-up on complaints. As the Board incorporates the Pledge of Allegiance into the school routine, it must also protect the values "for which it stands" and abide by not just the letter, but the spirit of the constitutional protection of free speech and religion.

Sincerely,
Donna Lieberman

Document 2. Memorandum from the School Chancellor

TO: All Principals, All Superintendents
FROM: Harold O. Levy, Chancellor
SUBJECT: Implementation of Policy on the Pledge of Allegiance and display of the United States Flag in schools

On Wednesday, October 17, 2001, The Board of Education unanimously adopted a resolution to require all public schools to lead students in the Pledge of Allegiance at the beginning of each school day and at all school-wide assemblies and school events. Copies of the October 17th resolution, Part 108 of the New York State Commissioner's Regulations, and New York State Education Law 802 were forwarded to the Superintendent.

The responsibility to supply and maintain a flag outside school buildings lies with custodians. Custodians are provided funds within their annual maintenance budgets to purchase these flags and any inoperable flagpoles will be repaired if a work order is processed.

School principals are required to implement the daily pledge requirement and to implement the pledge requirement during school-wide assemblies and school events. Principals should survey their classrooms to determine if additional classroom flags are required.

When implementing the policy, please note the following:

Participation in the Pledge of Allegiance is entirely voluntary and no student or school employee shall be subject to discipline, retaliation, or ostracism for not participating. Teachers and other school staff should be attentive to potential adverse reactions and minimize their effects;

Students who choose not to participate shall be permitted to remain seated in the classroom and shall not be required to leave the room;

Students who choose not to participate must maintain a respectful silence during the Pledge. Any student who is disruptive during the Pledge shall be treated as you would any disruptive student during the school day;

Parents who feel their children have been subject to harassment, retaliation or discipline as a result of their failure to participate in the Pledge shall have the right to contact the Superintendent or Superintendent's representative for assistance.

Document 3. The Supreme Court on the Pledge

In 1942, West Virginia's State Board of Education mandated that the flag salute become "a regular part of the program of activities in the public schools." Any student failing to comply could be charged with insubordination and expelled. For religious reasons, Walter Barnette, a Jehovah's Witness, refused to allow his children to salute the flag and say the Pledge. In a 6-3 decision, the Supreme Court ruled in his favor. Below are excerpts from West Virginia State Board of Education et al. v. Barnette et al., 319 U.S. 624 (1943). The full decision is available at http://laws.findlaw.com/us/319/624.html.

"To sustain the compulsory flag salute we are required to say that a Bill of Rights which guards the individual's right to speak his own mind, left it open to public authorities to compel him to utter what is not in his mind. . . .We set up government by consent of the governed, and the Bill of Rights denies those in power any legal opportunity to coerce that consent. . . . To believe that patriotism will not flourish if patriotic ceremonies are voluntary and spontaneous instead of a compulsory routine is to make an unflattering estimate of the appeal of our institutions to free minds. . . . But freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order.

If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. . . . We think the action of the local authorities in compelling the flag salute and pledge transcends constitutional limitations on their power and invades the sphere of intellect and spirit which it is the purpose of the First Amendment to our Constitution to reserve from all official control."

Document 4. Student Questionnaire

THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE: DO YOU KNOW YOUR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES? - A CONSTITUTIONAL LAW SURVEY

We, students of constitutional law, feel strongly about the flag salute. Most of us stand for the Pledge, and most of us believe that the law about the flag salute is a good one. In 1943, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the case of West Virginia Board of Education versus Barnette that the flag salute is voluntary. The Supreme Court based its ruling on First Amendment freedom of expression. Everyone has the right to stand or to sit quietly. Everyone also has the responsibility to behave in a respectful manner during the Pledge. The Chancellor of the NYC Board of Education accepts this law, and he has said that no one should be harassed or disciplined for not standing. The courts have also said that a person should not have to explain why he or she is not standing. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact us in room 313 during 1st period. We would like to know what you think about the flag salute and the law. Please complete the following survey:

YOUR NAME: ______________________________

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER

1) What do you do during the Pledge of Allegiance? a) stand and say it b) stand quietly c) sit quietly d) talk with friends
2) Did you know about the flag salute law before reading this survey? .... YES / NO
3) Is it disrespectful to sit during the Pledge? .... YES / NO
4) Should someone who has a religious objection have to stand for the Pledge? .... YES / NO
5) Should someone who has a political objection have to stand for the Pledge? .... YES / NO
6) Should a person have to explain why he or she is sitting during the Pledge? .... YES / NO
7) Do you think the law is good, or should it be changed? .... GOOD / CHANGE IT
8) Will this survey change what you do during the Pledge? .... YES / NO
9) Have you ever witnessed school officials pressuring students to stand for the Pledge? ... YES / NO
10) Have you ever witnessed students misbehaving during the Pledge? .... YES / NO
11) Should the Pledge of Allegiance remain a part of school on a daily basis? .... YES / NO

Document 5. Results of the Flag Salute Survey

Students in the first period Constitutional Law course wrote, administered, tabulated, and analyzed the following survey. Two hundred and thirty-seven people in our building, mostly students, were interviewed. Following the results are a series of reaction pieces.

1) What do you do during the Pledge of Allegiance? (A) stand and say it... 45% (B) stand quietly... 40% (C) sit quietly... 12% (D) talk with friends... 3%
2) Did you know about the flag salute law before reading this survey? YES (58%) NO (42%)
3) Is it disrespectful to sit during the Pledge? YES (53%) NO (47%)
4) Should someone who has a religious objection have to stand for the Pledge? YES (38%) NO (62%)
5) Should someone who has a political objection have to stand for the Pledge? YES (40%) NO (60%)
6) Should a person have to explain why he or she is sitting during the Pledge? YES (36%) NO (64%)
7) Do you think the law is good, or should it be changed? GOOD (75%) CHANGE IT (25%)
8) Will this survey change what you do during the Pledge? YES (26%) NO (74%)
9) Have you ever witnessed school officials pressuring students to stand for the Pledge? YES (71%) NO (29%)
10) Have you ever witnessed students misbehaving during the Pledge? YES (83%) NO (17%)
11) Should the Pledge of Allegiance remain a part of school on a daily basis? YES (56%) NO (44%)

Law Government Student Statements on the Flag Salute Survey

Juanita Evans: Educating people about their rights is very important. People need to know what their rights are. This was an educational experiment that should be done more often in schools. Maybe students would be more interested in learning their rights when it is being taught by their peers.

Brenda Perez: Before the assignment, I never knew that we have a choice. Now I know my rights. I don't feel that it is disrespectful to sit during the pledge, just as long as you are quiet. Personally, I stay seated during the pledge. According to the results, only 27 out of the 237 people surveyed sit, while 100 stand and say it and 89 just stand. 89 people did not know the law before they saw the survey, so we educated at least that many people about their rights. Finally, 173 out of the 237 feel that the law is good.

Catherine Lyle: We have helped students and others know their rights and learn about the Constitution. We also learned how the law protects the rights of the minority against the majority. I believe our school should have topics such as this presented to the student body more often. In that way students will have a more hands-on attitude toward the law. We opened many minds and protected the minority.

Alicia Ramdass: I feel that no one should be forced to stand for the pledge and I agree with the law. It seems that most of the student body in our school agrees with it also. Most students said they've witnessed school officials pressuring students to stand and that a lot of their classmates misbehave during the pledge. The answers that surprised me were the ones about whether a person with religious or political objections should stand. A huge amount of people say they should. I think that this project was a good idea. Hopefully we informed some students of their rights.

Jodi-Ann Williams: I feel that the survey was a good idea. Administering it was easy because people were cooperative. I feel the law is fine, but I believe if you live in America, you should respect America by reciting the pledge. Most of the respondents feel that we should say the pledge every morning. I agree. It shows respect to the U.S. and our strength.

Ashley Hall: I agree with the law. As long as you are respectful, you shouldn't be forced to stand and say the pledge against your will. After observing the results, I have been enlightened as to what my peers think. I was very shocked to find out that a lot of the results were the opposite of what I thought they would be. For example, the question about whether the survey would change people's behavior now that they knew they had a choice. More than half said "no". I think the result was probably because students still think they will get into trouble for sitting, so they feel compelled to stand. In my own experience in public schools, I've observed school officials pressure students. I'm thankful for this survey because students have had their voices heard about an issue that really means something: our rights.

Raxize Smith: Surprisingly, 128 students knew the law, compared to 89 who did not. This tells me that students are knowledgeable about their rights and the laws of this country. A lot of students didn't feel that people with religious or political objections should be allowed to sit. I think these feelings were brought on because of the incidents that took place on September 11. People may feel that you are allowed freedom and that you should at least show some respect for this country. Many feel that students should say the pledge every day. America is a country of optimism and opportunities.

Debora Gaitan: I believe it is good for us to know our rights, especially about being able to stand or sit during the pledge. Many people still don't know this law, which is based on the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution. After tabulating the results of the survey, I realized that out of 239 students, only six admitted that they talk. Most students do respect others when we are saluting the flag. I was surprised to know that a majority of students knew the law. Even though more students now know about the law, only 58 said this survey would change what they do. I was also surprised to see that 115 students believe the pledge should remain a part of school on a daily basis.

Titanya Gooberdhan: I believe that this survey was a very good idea. It made me feel very important because I helped people become aware of their rights. This survey shows that many were not aware of the law. Many students witnessed school officials pressuring students to stand and also witnessed students misbehaving during the pledge. I think some people feel they will save themselves a lot of trouble if they just stand and say it.

Human Rights Education at the Dawn of the 21st Century

by Dennis N. Banks

What is human rights education (HRE)? What actually are human rights? Human rights have been defined as "generally accepted principles of fairness and justice" or "the universal moral rights that belong equally to all people simply because they are human beings" or "the basic standards without which people cannot live in dignity" (O'Brien, 1996; Flowers, 1998). Simply put, human rights education is all learning that develops the knowledge, skills, and values of human rights.

The United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) defines human rights education as training, dissemination, and information efforts aimed at the building of a universal culture of human rights through the imparting of knowledge and skills and the molding of attitudes which are directed to:

(a) The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;

(b) The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity;

(c) The promotion of understanding, respect, gender equality, and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups;

(d) The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free society;

(e) The furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the Maintenance of Peace." (Adapted from the Plan of Action of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education, 1995-2004: 2).

Education

Education in human rights is itself a fundamental human right and also a responsibility. According to the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), "every individual and every organ of society" should "strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms." Although news reports refer to human rights every day, human rights literacy is not widespread in the United States. Students of law and international relations or political science may study human rights in a university setting, but most people receive no education, formally or informally, about human rights. Even human rights activists usually acquire their knowledge and skills by self-teaching and direct experience. People who do not know their rights are more vulnerable to having them abused and often lack the language and conceptual framework to effectively advocate for them. Growing consensus around the world recognizes education for and about human rights as essential. It can contribute to the building of free, just, and peaceful societies.

Human rights education is increasingly recognized as an effective strategy to prevent human rights abuses. According to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, "Today, such programmes are more important than ever. Clearly, we need to use education to advance tolerance and understanding. Perhaps more than ever, international understanding is essential to world peace - understanding between faiths, between nations, between cultures. Today, we know that just as no nation is immune to conflict or suffering, no nation can defend itself alone. We need each other as friends, as allies, as partners, in a struggle for common values and common needs."

In the 2000 Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the mid-term global evaluation of the progress made towards the achievement of the objectives of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education, human rights education is seen to: "involve more than the provision of information and should constitute a comprehensive life-long process by which people at all levels in development and in all strata of society learn respect for the dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring that respect in all societies." (UNGA, 2000: 4) A large number of countries already incorporate HRE in pre-school, primary and secondary curricula, either as a cross curricular theme, an optional course or as "attainment targets" in the overall curriculum. In many countries there is also a continuous stream of activities regarding human rights issues, initiated by human rights NGOs and individual schools and teachers (Elbers, 2000).

For example:

1. As part of the National Plan of Action, the Croatian government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and teacher training institutes organized a series of seminars for teachers and principals, developed text books and manuals in order to introduce human rights education as a cross curricular theme and an optional subject in all kindergartens, primary, and secondary schools.

2. In Austria a special Service Centre for Human Rights Education supported by the Austrian government was established as part of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education. The HRE Service Centre offers training courses and an advisory service for teachers and others engaged in HRE activities; it also develops educational materials and is actively creating an information network among Austrian teachers.
3. A massive human rights education project was initiated in Cambodia in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and with funding from UN agencies and other donors. The Human Rights Teaching Methodology project aims to train all of Cambodia's 71,000 teachers in how best to teach human rights to their students.

United States Role

Missing from this discussion is any involvement from the United States, except in the instances of NGOs or human rights organizations that are headquartered here. However, there has been movement in K-12 education. Several state legislatures have mandated various levels of human rights education within their schools. The New York State legislature in 1995 amended its Education Law with regard to instruction on human rights violations, genocide, slavery, the Holocaust, and the mass starvation in Ireland. A review of programming at recent Annual Meetings of the National Council for the Social Studies indicates a growing number of presentations on the broad topic of human rights education.

Currently, forty percent (20) of the states indicate that human rights education is within the state mandated curriculum. The specific terminology of where this mandates lies varies greatly. Fourteen of these states (including New Jersey and New York) indicate that human rights education is part of their state standards; Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York list legislative mandates or resolutions. These mandates are often in a very focused area that falls solely within the definition of historical human rights education such as the Connecticut legislation to provide guidance in teaching about the Holocaust and Irish famine or Indiana resolutions for multicultural (1991) and Holocaust (1995) education. On the other hand, New York legislation mandates instruction in "human rights issues, with particular attention to the study of the inhumanity of genocide, slavery, the Holocaust, and the mass starvation in Ireland from 1845 to 1850..." The New Jersey legislation indicates that instruction on the Holocaust and genocides shall take place throughout the elementary and secondary curriculum. This instruction "shall enable pupils to identify and analyze applicable theories concerning human nature and behavior; to understand that genocide is a consequence of prejudice and discrimination; and to understand that issues of moral dilemma and conscience have a profound impact on life." The vast majority of states that mandate human rights education consider their mandate to extend to all grade levels. In New York, however, the legislative mandate is restricted to students age 8+.

No mandate in the world can assure student learning without the active involvement of classroom teachers. When social studies teachers and their students, as well as activists, the media, politicians, and others in everyday life begin to refer to problems in the U.S. such as racism, women's issues, children's rights, poverty, police brutality, international trade, unemployment, the death penalty and gun control as human rights issues, we will see an important shift in human rights education. Only when we understand that at different stages of our lives, we are all victims and perpetrators of human rights abuse, will Human Rights Education attain its rightful place within the K-12 curriculum.

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High School Level Activity (Prepared by Laura Pearson and Kenneth Dwyer)

1. Human Rights Abuses in the Modern World

Directions: Read the based-on-fact case studies that follow. What human rights abuses can you identify in each case study? Explain why you consider them human rights abuses.

- Ashique is an 11 year-old boy and has been working in a brick kiln in Lahore, Pakistan for the past six years with his father and three brothers. His father borrowed 20,000 rupees (about $600) to pay for his sister's marriage and they work to pay off this debt. Ashique and his family work every day except Sunday. They work from 2 AM in the morning, before it is light, until 6 or 7 PM in the evening. Ashique and his brothers have no time off to play or to attend school. The group is paid 30 rupee (90 cents) for every 1,000 bricks they make. Together, the five of them make between 2,500 and 3,000 bricks in a day which earns them about $2.50. However, 50 percent of their earnings is subtracted to pay for the interest on their loan.

- Issaka is a 13 year-old boy living in Niger in west Africa. He is the 12th child of a subsistence farmer. The land is deteriorating in quality and the available fields are miles from the family's village. Issaka has never been educated. The nearest school is too far away for him to walk there every day and the family does not have enough money to send him to live in the town where the school is located. Issaka and his father have decided that he should take a job at a cement factory in a nearby city. He will work seven days a week for 10 hours a day. If he misses one day of work he will be fired. Although he will make only $1.25 per day, the pay will allow him an above average standard of living for his country. This will enable him to send money home to help support his family.

- José is a small farmer who tried to grow onions as an off-season cash crop. He borrowed money to buy onion seeds and equipment from a large factory farm at the start of the planting season. An insect invasion followed by a flood wiped out the entire crop. José made no money and was unable to repay the loan. The owner of the factory farm demanded that José leave his small farm to work for him for a year until the debt was repaid. The owner threatened to take over José's small plot of land if he did not agree.

2. Slavery in the Modern World

Directions: Read the section that follows and write a letter to your local newspaper expressing your views on the problem of slavery in the modern world. To learn more about the topic, visit *www.trocaire.org* or *www.saltdal.vgs.no/prosjekt/slavrute/slavtoday.htm*.

For most people, slavery brings about images of African people shackled in overcrowded cargo ships crossing the Atlantic Ocean. We think of it as something that happened in the past. However, the grim reality is that slavery in different forms still thrives in our changing global economy. There are approximately 27 million enslaved people in the world today who generate an estimated 11.5 billion dollars in profit for slaveholders. Today's slaves are not bought and sold a public auction and their "owners" do not hold legal title to them. Yet they are just as surely trapped, controlled and brutalized as the enslaved people we read about in history books.

Examples of slavery in the world today:
Woman are brought to Europe from Africa to serve as a house servants, receive little or no pay and cannot return home. To avoid starvation, poor families are forced to sell their children to be prostitutes in Thailand and the Philippines. Islamic tribesmen from northern Sudan imprison Christian tribesmen from the south. Children work in factories, on farms and in mines to pay off inherited family debts across southern Asia. Undocumented immigrants work without pay in restaurants and sweatshops in the United States in order to pay back the cost of smuggling them into the country.

Nuclear Controversy: Sourcebook For An Inquiry Curriculum

by Alan Shapiro, Compiler & Writer For Educators For Social Responsibility Metropolitan Area

This article contains excerpts from the guide *Nuclear Controversy: Sourcebook for an Inquiry Curriculum*, compiled and written by Alan Shapiro for Educators for Social Responsibility Metropolitan Area. The guide is designed to help teachers and students examine controversial nuclear issues, come to reasoned conclusions about them, and determine what actions, if any, they wish to take as concerned citizens. The guide is divided into four parts: Part I offers an overview for the teacher on "Teaching Controversial Issues in Secondary School." Part II provides a summary of background information on nuclear weapons issues. It includes "A Nuclear Weapons Primer" and describes briefly four basic issues related to the future of nuclear weapons: deterrence policy, proliferation, missile defense, and abolition. Part III consists of source material - official U.S. policy statements, statements by non-governmental groups, congressional testimony, newspaper articles and excerpts from books - presenting divergent points of view on each issue. Part IV, "Teaching Strategies," includes suggestions for studying and inquiring into basic nuclear issues, specific lesson proposals, ideas for student involvement as citizens, and sample examination questions. The guide is primarily intended for high school teachers of history and social studies and their students, but portions of it might be useful to middle and junior high school teachers and students. It contains enough material for a four-to-six week unit of study. Teachers who have only a week or possibly a few days to spend on it might, depending upon student backgrounds of understanding, begin with "Nuclear Weapons Primer" and then devote a session or two to competing views on one of the four issues.

NUCLEAR CONTROVERSY: Sourcebook for an Inquiry Curriculum is available from Educators for Social Responsibility Metropolitan Area, 475 Riverside Drive, #554, New York, NY 10115. For information call (212) 870-3318 x38.

After the end of the cold war, public concern about a nuclear war died down. The Soviet Union no longer existed. Friendly relations developed between Russia and the United States. Both countries reduced their nuclear stockpiles, and they were even eliminated in several new states that had been part of the Soviet Union. But the nuclear threat was not eliminated. Today thousands of nuclear tipped missiles can be fired at a moment's notice. Most of these weapons are in the United States and Russia, but many others are in at least six other countries: Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan, and Israel.

The cold war U.S. deterrence policy remains essentially unchanged. Its cornerstone is the threat to use nuclear weapons against any perceived threat, and it continues to rely on its nuclear weapons delivery triad of Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), Sea-Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs), and long range bombers. It maintains launch-on-warning and first-use policies. U.S. plans for even a limited missile defense system have generated a host of issues, among them the possible violation of the ABM Treaty with Russia and possible additions to the stockpile of Chinese nuclear weapons. Such developments have once again raised questions about the future of nuclear weapons. Should they continue to play such a large role in the military plans of the U.S., Russia, and other nations? Is the abolition of nuclear weapons possible?

Warfare in the 20th century has been revolutionized by two developments, huge leaps in the power of explosives and in the speeds and distances explosives can travel. Nuclear weapons, such as the atomic bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and, a few days later, Nagasaki, Japan are different from ordinary or conventional bombs which produce a shock wave after they explode, and only people in the immediate vicinity of the blast are likely to be wounded or killed. But a nuclear bomb produces many destructive effects and over a much wider area. In addition, nuclear bombs today are far more powerful than those of 1945. The Hiroshima bomb had an explosive yield of twelve and a half kilotons or 12,500 tons of TNT.

A medium-sized nuclear bomb today of one megaton, or one million tons of TNT, can produce the following effects in an air burst over a city:

1. Kill unprotected human beings in an area of some six square miles with "initial nuclear radiation";
2. Generate an electromagnetic pulse that knocks out electrical equipment over a wide area;
3. Create a thermal pulse - a wave of blinding light and intense heat - that causes second degree

burns in exposed human beings nine and a half miles from the center of the explosion;

4. Send out a blast wave in all directions that flattens or severely damages all but the strongest buildings within a radius of four and a half miles;
5. Return to the earth radioactive fallout, most of it in the form of ash, if the bomb has been set off close enough to the earth or on it so that dust and debris are thrown up into the atmosphere and expose people to various fatal radiation illnesses.

These local primary effects produce a number of secondary effects that can be even more harmful than the primary ones. For example, nuclear weapons generate mass fires that may kill more people than the original thermal pulse and blast wave. If many nuclear bombs were exploded around the world in a full-scale nuclear war, three global effects can occur:

1. Worldwide fallout contaminating the whole surface of the earth;
2. General cooling of the earth's surface resulting from the millions of tons of dust blocking the sun's rays;
3. Partial destruction of the ozone layer that protects living creatures from radiation.

The detonation of a one-megaton bomb, which has eighty times the explosive power of the Hiroshima bomb, 8,500 feet over the Empire State Building in New York City would have such effects as the following:

- Almost every building between Battery Park and 125th Street would be gutted or flattened.
- People in the buildings would fall to the street with the debris of the buildings, and those in the street would be crushed by this avalanche of people and buildings.
- People would be picked up and hurled away from the blast along with the rest of the debris.
- As far away as ten miles from ground zero, pieces of glass and other sharp objects would be hurled about by the blast wave at lethal velocities.
- Winds of up to 400 miles per hour would rake the city.
- A growing fireball would broil the city below.
- Anyone caught in the open within nine miles of ground zero would receive third-degree burns and would probably be killed while those closer to the explosion would be charred and killed instantly.
- Fires would break out everywhere and before long coalesce into mass fires.
- Like the victims of Hiroshima, but in much greater numbers, the people of New York City would be burned, battered, crushed, and irradiated in every conceivable way, and millions of them would die.
- Since most hospitals would be destroyed, most doctors and nurses killed or injured, and most medical supplies gone, most survivors would die.

Nuclear Blast Mapper at PBS: The American Experience *(www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/bomb/sfeature/mapablast.html)*
Would you survive a nuclear blast near your home? Learn how destructive thermonuclear weapons are.

The increasing distances explosives can travel means more and more places are vulnerable to attack. In World War I the Germans dropped nearly 9,000 bombs on England, killing and wounding nearly 6,000 people. In World War II the B-29 dropped one bomb on Hiroshima, killing and wounding some 200,000 people. Today's MX missile carries ten independently-targeted warheads and has a destructive force 300 times as great as the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima and the power to kill many millions of people. Greater speeds of delivery combined with greater distances traveled combined with greater explosive power mean that what has been called war in past ages is in the nuclear age perhaps better called holocaust.

Era	Speed	Distance
World War I bomber	90 mph	300 miles
World War II B-29 bomber	360 mph	4,000 miles
Contemporary MX missile	15,000 mph	15,000 mph

National Security Issues

Since World War II U.S. leaders have defined national security primarily in military terms. Their view has been that if the U.S. has military power that is equal or superior to that of any potential enemy, the nation will be able to defend its interests in various parts of the world and be safe from attack at home. This point of view is represented most clearly in the military doctrine that has guided the U.S. for nearly half a century and still does - deterrence. Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, defined this policy 30 years ago. In his book *The Essence of Security* he writes: "Assured destruction is the very essence of the whole deterrence concept. We must possess an actual assured-destruction capability, and that capability also must be credible. The point is that a potential aggressor must believe that our assured-destruction capability is in fact actual, and that our will to use it in retaliation to an attack is in fact unwavering." Deterrence therefore "means the certainty of suicide to the aggressor, not merely to his military forces, but to his society as a whole."

In a speech 18 years ago Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., who served for President Reagan, declared: "The simple possession of nuclear weapons does not guarantee deterrence...War, and in particular nuclear war, can be deterred, but only if we are able to deny an aggressor military advantage from his action and thus insure his awareness that he cannot prevail in any conflict with us. Deterrence, in short, requires the maintenance of a secure military balance, one which cannot be overturned through surprise attack or sudden technological breakthrough." To support its deterrence policy the United States has spent $5.48 trillion on nuclear weapons since 1940, and plans to spend through 2008 another $4.5 trillion.

The "potential aggressor" was the Soviet Union. The result was an arms race in which both nations built, stockpiled, and aimed at each other thousands of nuclear weapons, only a very small number of which, if fired and exploded, would have destroyed the other nation as a functioning society. Nevertheless, the feeling among U.S. and Soviet military strategists was that they could not have too many nuclear weapons.

There have always been critics of the deterrence policy. Some argue that military defense traditionally has meant being able to protect one's land and society. But deterrence does not defend or protect. It only threatens to destroy an opponent's society if one's own is attacked and devastated and relies on this threat to prevent an attack. Critics have also protested a definition of national security that focuses almost entirely on military security. Does not the national security of the U.S. also depend upon how well its citizens are educated? The character of their healthcare? The quality of the environment? Such critics focus on the costs of nuclear weapons, and argue that the huge sums spent on them deprive Americans of valuable social programs.

Problems and Dangers

In 1945 only the U.S. possessed nuclear weapons. This monopoly lasted until the Soviet Union became a nuclear power in 1949. Soon afterward so did England, France, and China. The growing number of nuclear nations and the dangers associated with nuclear weapons led in 1968 to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or NPT in which non-nuclear nations agreed not to receive nuclear weapons or manufacture their own and nations with nuclear weapons agreed to make serious efforts at nuclear disarmament. This agreement has now been signed by 187 nations. Four countries remain outside the treaty - India and Pakistan, both of which recently tested nuclear weapons; Israel, which has never declared that it has nuclear weapons but is widely believed to have them; and Cuba, which does not.

There are no secrets anymore about how to make atomic and hydrogen bombs. Virtually any nation with a desire to develop them and the necessary money is capable of beginning a nuclear arsenal. Critics say that the nuclear powers have not lived up to their agreement to Article VI of the NPT which requires them to move toward the abolition of nuclear weapons. But U.S. officials point to declines in spending on and reductions in nuclear stockpiles as evidence that they take Article VI of the NPT seriously. The NPT has had some success in preventing or slowing nuclear proliferation, but the continued existence of tens of thousands of nuclear weapons and the absence of efforts to eliminate them contribute to the continuing appearance of new nuclear weapons nations.

Accidental nuclear attack

The U.S. and Russia have the most nuclear weapons and missiles with which to deliver them. Both nations follow launch-on-warning policies that mean if command and control centers report that an attack is on its way, leaders have no more than a few minutes to decide what to do. In the past 20 years there have been a number of major false alarms. One of the most recent was in 1995 when Russians believed a rocket was headed toward their country and for the first time in their history activated a nuclear suitcase accompanying President Boris Yeltsin. They were about two minutes from a decision on whether to launch a nuclear missile response when they decided that the rocket was not headed toward Russia. In fact what had alarmed them was an American research rocket sent up off the coast of Norway to study the aurora borealis. The serious problems of the Russian economy have resulted in the deterioration of the nation's defense system. Money has not been available to maintain it adequately. Storage depots have been vulnerable to theft, and there have even been reports of missing portable weapons. Four American experts on the situation in Russia declared in a study recently that "the leakage of weapons-usable nuclear materials from the former Soviet Union is already occurring and could easily get worse."

Environmental and health problems

Decades of nuclear arms production in the U.S., Russia, and other countries have produced serious environmental and health problems. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency lists nine nuclear weapons facilities as the worst contaminated sites in the country. One of them at Rocky Flats, Colorado exposed people in the area to soil contamination and radiation from exhaust plumes of the plant's smokestacks. The health officer of the area reports that before the plant was built in 1952 leukemia deaths among Jefferson County children were less than the national rate but increased to about twice the national rate between 1957 and 1962. Infant mortality and fetal death rates also rose.

During the decades of nuclear weapons production some 600,000 workers have been exposed to radiation, which is linked to higher rates of cancer, brain tumors, and birth defects. After many years of denials, the U.S. government conceded in January 2000 that this exposure has in fact produced cancer and early death in workers. Some 250,000 U.S. military personnel have been exposed to radioactive fallout in nuclear weapons test. Millions of Americans living near weapons plants and test sites have been exposed to dangerous radiation levels. At Savannah River, South Carolina; Fernald, Ohio; Rocky Flats, Colorado; and Hanford, Washington State workers have been exposed to radiation, radioactive waste has leaked into groundwater, and radioactive particles have been spewed into the air. No one knows how many people have suffered from cancers and other illness as a result. Such events, typically, have been kept secret for many years, becoming publicly known only in the past decade.

At Hanford managers secretly permitted radioactive elements to be released for more than 20 years. They recognized the risks to people who lived in the area but went ahead "because they believed that Hanford's mission to defend the nation's security outweighed potential danger to the American public." Government officials were warned before 1950 that workers at nuclear weapons plants were being exposed to dangerous levels of radiation. But the workers were not told, according to a Senate committee, because "in the climate of the early cold war, decisions were made to subordinate concerns about the health of workers to the need for more bombs." At the Savannah River Plant repeated nuclear reactor failures and extensive radioactive contamination were kept secret "because of national security concerns about publicizing America's problems producing atomic weapons."

Fallout from atmospheric tests of all nuclear powers in past years will continue to settle to the earth for thousands of years to cause cancer deaths in the yet unborn. Most of the places where the government guilt nuclear bombs will never be safe enough for public use of the land. A National Academy of Sciences report issued in August 2000 states: "At many sites, radiological and nonradiological hazardous wastes will remain, posing risks to humans and the environment for tens or even hundreds of thousands of years. Complete elimination of unacceptable risks to humans and the environment will not be achieved, now or in the foreseeable future." The Academy also declares that plans for guarding these unsafe sites are inadequate.

Preventing the Use of Nuclear Weapons

Since the opening of the nuclear age with the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, there have been many disagreements about nuclear weapons. But just about everyone agrees that the holocaust they create means they should never be used again. During the half-century since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the major efforts at avoiding a nuclear catastrophe have been:

1. *The theory of deterrence.* It boils down to the idea that if the U.S. keeps a powerful enough arsenal of nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them, any enemy nation knows it will be destroyed if it attacks and therefore will be deterred or prevented from attacking.
2. *Nuclear test bans.* A series of agreements gradually eliminated nuclear testing by most, but not all, nuclear powers and reduced continued contamination of air, sea, and soil by nuclear weapons production.
3. *Arms control.* A series of agreements, mainly between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, slowly cut back the numbers of missiles and nuclear warheads each nation was allowed to have. Efforts at agreement continue between the U.S. and Russia.
4. *Non-proliferation agreements.* These have been successful in keeping most of the nations of the world from developing nuclear weapons, but some nations have not signed the agreements. Seven nations on three continents are known nuclear powers. Several others may be attempting to develop nuclear weapons and one, Israel, almost certainly has them. The danger of

an intentional or an accidental nuclear attack still exists. The danger of terrorists obtaining nuclear weapons and using them still exists. Environmental and health hazards caused by nuclear weapons development still exists. But since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the danger of a war between it and the U.S. has vanished. The danger of a deliberate nuclear bombardment of each nation has vanished. Russia, which inherited most of the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons is afraid of the United States. So obstacles to inspections of nuclear facilities in each nation, which during the cold war were major reasons why nuclear disarmament was said to be impossible, have vanished. But the U.S. deterrence policy remains the same even though the country it was designed to deter no longer exists.

5. *The abolition and prohibition of nuclear weapons.* In 1996 the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution to work for an agreement to prohibit "the development, production, testing, deployment, stockpiling, transfer, threat or use of nuclear weapons and providing for their elimination." In the vote on this resolution, 115 nations approved, 32 abstained, and 22, including the U.S. disapproved.

A Nuclear Weapons Chronology

1939 - Albert Einstein writes President Franklin D. Roosevelt to warn him about the possibility of a German atomic bomb and to urge the U.S. to develop such a weapon. World War II begins in Europe.

1941 - Japan attacks Pearl Harbor, and the U.S. enters World War II.

1942 - The U.S. establishes the Manhattan Project to develop and atomic bomb.

1945 - A U.S. plane drops an atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6. Three days later a second bomb is dropped on Nagasaki. Japan surrenders and World War II ends.

1946 - The cold war begins between the United States and the Soviet Union.

1949 - The Soviet Union tests an atomic bomb.

1952 - The United States tests the first hydrogen or thermonuclear bomb.

1953 - The Soviet Union tests a hydrogen bomb.

1957 - The Soviet Union develops the first intercontinental ballistic missile.

1958 - The United States develops on ICBM.

1963 - The United States and the Soviet Union agree to a Limited Test Ban Treaty that halts testing by them of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in space, or underwater. Underground testing continues.

1972 - The United States and the Soviet Union agree to the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty which, for the first time, establishes limits on the number of missiles each side can have.

1991 - The Soviet Union collapses. Russia emerges as the largest of the newly independent republics and possesses most of the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union.

1994 - The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty forbidding any nuclear weapons testing is agreed to by 149 nations. Neither the Russian Duma nor the Senate of the U.S. has ratified the treaty.

1996 - The UN General Assembly approves a resolution to work for an agreement to forbid the further development of nuclear weapons and to eliminate those that exist.

High School Activity - Nuclear Deterrence Debate

Support For Deterrence

William J. Perry, U.S. Secretary of Defense, March 1996 annual report to the President: " Strategic nuclear deterrence remains a key U.S. military priority. The mission of U.S. strategic nuclear forces is to deter attacks on the United States or its allies and to convince potential adversaries that seeking nuclear advantage would be futile. To do this, the United States must maintain nuclear forces of sufficient size and capability to hold at risk a broad range of assets valued by potentially hostile foreign nations."

Walter B. Slocombe, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, February 12, 1997: "Nuclear deterrent -- survivable against the most aggressive attack, under highly confident constitutional command and control, and assured in its safety against both accident and unauthorized use. . . . Even if we could ignore the Russian nuclear arsenal entirely, there are unfortunately a range of other potential threats to which nuclear weapons are a deterrent. One cannot survey the list of rogue states with potential WMD (weapons of mass destruction) programs and conclude otherwise . . . the knowledge that the U.S. has a powerful and ready nuclear capability is, I believe, a significant deterrent to proliferators to even contemplate the use of WMD."

Executive Report, U.S. Nuclear Policy in the 21st Century, Institute for National Strategic Studie), July 1988: "Whether we like it or not, nuclear weapons will be part of the global security setting. The knowledge to build them will continue to exist; they cannot be disinvented. Moreover, in some regions - notably South Asia and the Middle East - the value ascribed to demonstrated nuclear prowess has been increasing. The Indian nuclear tests in May 1998 and the rapid Pakistani response demonstrated the resolve of these governments, backed by domestic political opinion, to risk international censure for stated security reasons. The Indian and Pakistani tests may anticipate a long-term trend that would significantly increase the number of the de facto nuclear weapons states. The emergence of more "declared" or "demonstrated" nuclear states may be inevitable."

Criticism of Deterrence

Center for Defense Information, 1993: "Nuclear weapons serve no military purpose, especially given U.S. superiority in conventional weapons. The United States is the world's number one military power, with or without its nuclear weapons. The United States' substantial and powerful nonnuclear forces, as demonstrated in the war against Iraq, can destroy the same targets as nuclear weapons. General Colin Powell expressed the military's doubts about the value of nuclear weapons: "I think there is far less utility to these (nuclear) weapons than some Third World countries think there is, and they are wasting a lot of money, because what they hope to do militarily with weapons of mass destruction. . . . I can increasingly do with conventional weapons, and far more effectively."

General Lee Butler, Commander of U.S. Strategic Command until 1994. "Deterrence had this further peculiar quality: it worked best when you needed it least. In periods of relative calm, you could point with pride at deterrence and say, "Look, how splendidly it's working!" It was in moments of deep crisis that not only did it become irrelevant but all the baggage that came with it - the buildup of forces, the high states of alert - turned the picture absolutely upside down. As you entered the crisis, thoughts of deterrence vanished, and you were simply trying to deal with the classic imponderables of crises. . . . Deterrence, in a word, never operated the way that we imagined or envisoned it would. . . . It led to an open-ended arms race - at that level, it failed utterly."

Jonathan Schell, The Gift of Time. The principal strategic question is whether the doctrine of deterrence, having been framed during the cold war, will now be discredited as logically absurd and morally bankrupt or, on the contrary, recommended to nations all over the world as the soundest and most sensible solution to the nuclear dilemma. The question then will not be whether a particular quarreling pair of nations (the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War) is better off with nuclear arsenal but whether any and all such pairs (India and Pakistan, Greece and Turkey, Iraq and Israel, or Iran and Iraq will do as examples) are better off. . . . The fundamental choice . . . is between, on the one hand, condemnation of nuclear weapons and their abolition and, on the other, their full normalization and universalization.

High School Activity - Nuclear Abolition Debate

Support for Nuclear Weapons Abolition

The Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons, Executive Summary (a commission established by the Australian government): The elimination of nuclear weapons must be a global endeavor involving all states. The process followed must ensure that no state feels, at any stage, that further nuclear disarmament is a threat to its security. To this end nuclear weapon elimination should be conducted as a series of phased verified reductions that allow states to satisfy themselves, at each stage of the process, that further movement toward elimination can be made safely and securely.

The first requirement is for the five nuclear weapon states to commit themselves unequivocally to the elimination of nuclear weapons and agree to start work immediately on the practical steps and negotiations required for its achievement. The commitment by the nuclear weapons states to a nuclear weapon free world must be accompanied by a series of practical, realistic and mutually reinforcing steps. There are a number of such steps that can be taken immediately: Taking nuclear forces off alert; Removal of warheads from delivery vehicles; Ending deployment of non-strategic nuclear weapons; Ending nuclear testing; Initiating negotiations to further reduce United States and Russian nuclear arsenals; Agreement amongst the nuclear weapon states of reciprocal no first use undertakings, and of a no first use undertaking by them in relation to the non-nuclear states.

Effective verification is critical to the achievement and maintenance of a nuclear weapon free world. Before states agree to eliminate nuclear weapons they will require a high level of confidence that verification arrangements would detect promptly any attempt to cheat the disarmament process. A key element of non-proliferation arrangements for a nuclear weapon free world will be a highly developed capacity to detect undeclared nuclear activity at both declared and undeclared sites.

General George Lee Butler, commander of U.S. Strategic Command until 1994: We need to reflect on how revolutionary ideas get implemented and become evolutionary realities. The first and foremost test is whether, at its very core, the idea makes sense. And I believe that the idea of abolishing nuclear weapons passes that test with flying colors. Today, we are left with the spectacle of democratic societies clinging to the proposition that threats to the lives of tens of millions of people can be reconciled with the underlying tenets of our political philosophy. Why should we accept a bargain whose contractual terms take as commonplace forms of retribution that hold at risk the lives of so many people and threaten the viability of life on the planet? Who can argue that this is the best to which we can aspire? Nuclear weapons are irrational devices. They were rationalized and accepted as a desperate measure in the face of circumstances that were unimaginable. Now as the world evolves rapidly, I think that the vast majority of people on the face of this earth will endorse the proposition that such weapons have no place among us. There is no security to be found in nuclear weapons. It is a fool's game.

A Middle Position On Nuclear Weapons Abolition

Fred Charles Ikle, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: The idea of abolishing nuclear weapons is for many people the first that comes to mind in trying to get out of the nuclear predicament. However, it wouldn't take very long for nations to build nuclear weapons again. You need - in the short term, I believe, a kind of concert of the major nuclear powers to maintain the tradition of nonuse as long as possible, not only among themselves, but to keep all the so-called rogue states from ever using nuclear weapons. These major powers would punish the use of nuclear weapons by rogue states, perhaps by lettering one major party - the most effective one in each case - step forward and respond to prevent any repetition. If, for instance, North Korea were to use nuclear weapons against South Korea or Japan, the United States might handle the needed nuclear response, but Russia and China would tolerate the United States' doing so, much as they tolerated the Gulf War. This enforced nonuse policy, however, would have to apply not just to nuclear weapons but to any large-scale use of weapons of mass destruction. Sometime in the far distant future, it (nuclear abolition) might happen. But other things would have to happen first. The world would have to come under the control of some global authority, and a rather intrusive and demanding one at that...neither governments nor people will seriously consider taking any really big steps until they are kicked in that direction by very intense emotions.

Opposition To Nuclear Weapons Abolition

Walter B. Slocombe, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, February 12, 1997: There is no reasonable prospect that all the declared and de facto nuclear powers will agree in the near term to give up all their nuclear weapons. And as long as one such state refuses to do so, it will be necessary for us to retain a nuclear force of our own. If the nuclear powers were . . . to accept abolition, then we would require - and the Congress would rightly demand - a verification regime of extraordinary rigor and intrusiveness. This would have to go far beyond any currently in existence or even under contemplation. It would have to include not merely a system of verification, but what the "international generals statement" calls "an agreed procedure for forcible international intervention and interruption of current efforts in a certain and timely fashion.

We who are charged with responsibility for national security and national defense must recall that we are not only seeking to avert nuclear war - we are seeking to avert major conventional war as well. . . During the cold war nuclear weapons played a stabilizing role in that they made the resort to military force less likely. The world is still heavily armed with advanced conventional weapons and will increasingly be so armed with weapons of mass destruction. The existence of nuclear weapons continues to serve as a damper on the resort to the use of force.

Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary for International Security Policy of the Defense Department, 1981-1987, February 12, 1997: There are at least five important reasons why we should reject categorically and unapologetically the argument that the elimination of all nuclear weapons would be a wise goal for the United States. First, there is no way to verify compliance with a treaty banning all nuclear weapons. Not now. Not tomorrow. Not ever. The weapons are too small and the space in which they can be hidden too vast to allow for confident monitoring.

Second, the elimination of our last remaining nuclear weapon, in light of the near certainty that others would cheat and hold some weapons back would be an act of supreme folly.

Third, even if the impossible happened and everyone turned in his last weapon, how long would it be before the continuing technical and scientific know-how and industrial capacity in the former nuclear-weapon states was mobilized to re-establish one or more nuclear powers?

Fourth, the elimination of nuclear weapons, or even a commitment to eliminate them in the future, would be a major encouragement to potential proliferators. . . . These would pose a serious threat to us and to others, to be sure. But the United States possesses many thousands of such weapons and other nuclear weapons states have thousands or hundreds. Surely a state with a handful of nuclear weapons would take seriously the substantial nuclear arsenals of the major nuclear powers.

Fifth, the elimination of all nuclear weapons would end our possession of a deterrent force that has contributed significantly to the peace among nuclear powers that has prevailed since World War II. And while conventional weapons have improved dramatically, and we are less dependent on nuclear weapons than at any time since their invention, they still exert a sobering influence that cannot be achieved by any other means.

Classroom Activity On Nuclear Weapons: The Beebee Demonstration

Ask students what they know or have heard about the death and destruction caused by weapons in World War II. What do they know about the bombs the U.S. dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan?

Tell students that the total power contained in all the weapons used in World War II - including the nuclear bombs dropped on Japan - are represented by a single beebee. Hold up the beebee and then drop it into the empty cookie tin. It makes a dull ping.

Explain that since World War II, nuclear weapons have multiplied: There are now about 35,000 nuclear weapons on the earth, mostly in the U.S. and Russia.

Tell students that the total power of the world's current nuclear arsenal is represented by these beebees. Gradually pour half of a cartoon of beebees –about 2,500 beebees - into the cookie tin.

After the demonstration, ask students their reactions to this information. Ask: What caused this enormous proliferation of weapons? Some people argued that nuclear weapons were a necessary "deterrent" to aggression during the Cold War. Now the Cold War is over. Do you think there is still a role for nuclear weapons?

A History of Great Britain and the U.S. in the Middle East: An Effort to Understand the Attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon

by Alan Singer

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In the wake of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, I visited schools and spoke with large numbers of students, teachers and parents in the New York metropolitan area. Following expressions of upset and anger, two issues continually arose. Though they articulated it in different forms, many people were trying to understand why a radical organization with roots in the Middle East and Islamic fundamentalism had targeted the United States. A few, especially secondary school students, wondered whether it was acceptable in a time of national emergency to question or protest against government actions.

In an effort to address these questions, teachers affiliated with the Hofstra University New Teachers Network tried to help students distinguish between fact and opinion, substantiated information and rumor, and emotion and reason. We challenged stereotypes and stressed the difference between Islam, a religion of over a billion believers, many of whom live in the United States, and the actions of one organized group or a few individuals. We also maintained that citizens and residents of a democratic society (many of our students are immigrants) have an obligation to question its leaders and that questioning government policies in no way implies support for attacks on the United States.

Teachers tried to lay the basis for a long term investigation of why the attack took place so students could analyze underlying and immediate causes, understand why people in other countries believe they have been harmed by the United States and its allies, and participate in discussion of United States policy decisions. Many teachers assigned students to use the internet to collect newspaper articles from around the world in a search for diverse perspectives overlooked in the local and national media.

One serious difficulty we faced was finding material on the history of the United States' role in the Middle East that was reasoned, informed by supporting evidence, took a critical stance, and was accessible to an audience of non-specialists. What follows is an effort to summarize 150 years of history in a part of the world which, depending on how you define the region, spans two continents (North Africa and South-West Asia), has over 500 million people from diverse linguistic, ethnic and religious groups, and includes as many as thirty countries. This essay primarily focuses on the regime bounded by the Nile River in Egypt and the Oxus River in Afghanistan. I find it is useful to divide the 150 year time span into four historical eras. Significantly, in all four eras, the interests of the region are dominated by the concerns of the world's military and economic superpowers, not of its indigenous, primarily Arab and Islamic people.

Sources on the British and U.S. Role

Discussion of the British role in the Middle East is largely drawn from Albert Hourani (1991), *A History of the Arab People*; David Cannadine (2001), *Ornamentalism, How the British Saw Their Empire*; Mark Gasiorowski (1991), *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah: Building a Client State in Iran*; and Said Aburish (1997), *A Brutal Friendship, The West and the Arab Elite.*

My primary source on the United States role in the Middle East was Graham Fuller and Ian Lesser (1995), *A Sense of Siege, The Geopolitics of Islam and the West.* This study was sponsored by RAND, a nonprofit, mainstream institution created by the United States military, that supports government policy and decision-making through research and analysis. I also used William Blum (1995), *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II* and the books by Hourani, Gasiorowski and Aburish. Blum, who was formerly associated with the Central Intelligence Agency, is an active opponent of United States policy in the region.

1. **Empires in Conflict**, 1869-1919: The Suez Canal, which opened in 1869, links colonial India with Europe. Great Britain, Czarist Russia, the Ottoman-Turkish Empire, Germany and France maneuver for primacy in North Africa and South Western and Central Asia.
2. **British Hegemony**, 1919-1945: Victorious in World War I, Great Britain and its French ally reorganize the map of the Middle East to suit their imperial needs. The people of the Middle East are denied the self-determination promised by Woodrow Wilson's 14 points. During this period, there is a shift from geopolitical concerns to economic exploitation with the discovery of huge oil reserves in the Persian Gulf.
3. **United States Dominance and Cold War**, 1945-1989. With the end of World War II, the United States supplants Great Britain as the dominant western power in the region. Its primary concerns are securing access to Middle Eastern oil, support for the state of Israel, the containment of communism and undermining the Soviet Union and its allies.
4. **New World Order**, 1989-2001. With the collapse of the Soviet Union the United States and its allies try to maintain stability in the region, but at the same time withdraw support from governments and social movements that are now seen as hostile or superfluous to U.S. goals. The situation is complicated by the discovery of new oil reserves in Islamic regions of the former Soviet Union, the continuing Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and the growing gap between wealthy and poor nations as a result of globalization.

I believe that as readers examine this history, two underlying themes emerge:

- Great Britain and the United States pursued imperialist policies manipulating the governments and people of the Middle East to further their own national interests.
- Resentment over British and U.S. actions directly and indirectly contributed to unrest in the region and the emergence of militant opposition groups.

Empires in Conflict (Era I)

Most high school students in the United States are familiar with the 1904 cartoon of Theodore Roosevelt standing astride the West Indian Islands, holding a big stick and declaring the Caribbean Sea an American protectorate. Roosevelt's pronouncement was enforced by American military incursions in the region 34 times between 1898 and 1941 (Williams, 1980).

In much the same way, the Middle East was an outpost of the British Empire during this period. The British Lion can fairly be described as standing astride the region with one hind paw in North Africa, another in the Sinai region, and forepaws in Iran and Pakistan. Even the term the Middle East defines this part of the world as half way between Great Britain and its eastern colonies on the Indian subcontinent.

Protection of the Suez Canal and the water route between India and Europe as a lifeline of empire was a fundamental tenet of British foreign and military policy. To achieve its goals, Britain used a colonial model developed for governing the Indian Princely States. It involved nominal self-government by local noble clients under direction of the British High Commissioner or Consul-General who ensured order and protected British interests at minimum expense (Cannadine, 2001).

To maintain control over the region, Great Britain invaded Egypt in 1882 and governed it either directly or indirectly until 1952. Even after Egypt gained nominal independence in 1922, the country and its monarch remained within the British imperial sphere of influence; a 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty solidifying British control over the Suez Canal Zone. It was not until 1951-2 that an Egyptian army rebellion led by Colonel Gamal Nasser forced the king to abdicate that the British hold over Egypt was finally broken.

On the Arabian Peninsula, Britain signed treaties with selected monarchs at the end of the 19th century, including the Sultan of Muscat, Sheiks of the Trucial Coast of Oman, the ruler of Bahrain and Sheiks of Qatar and Kuwait. In exchange for declaring them the legitimate rulers of these territories, the monarchies accepted British dominance in the region. Kuwait, which under Ottoman rule had been a province of Iraq, was placed under British protection in 1897 and remained under British control until 1961.

Great Britain used World War I and the Ottoman alliance with the Central Powers to further its imperial interests in the Middle East by manipulating pliant Arab leaders. A 1916 rebellion against Ottoman rule was sponsored by Britain's Arab Bureau in Cairo. It relied on British financing, mercenaries and former officers from the Ottoman army, but there appears to have been little mass support. The leading Arab participants were from the Hashimite Arab clan under the leadership of Sharif Hussein of Mecca and his sons Abdullah and Faisal. At the same time that British colonial officials were assuring the Hussein family it would rule a unified Arab nation in the region, Great Britain negotiated the Balfour Declaration with European Zionists promising a Jewish homeland in the Middle East and secretly signed the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement with France to create a network of smaller states under European domination. Meanwhile, another portion of the British foreign service was making similar promises to Hussein's arch-rival, Ibn Saud.

Two other concerns also shaped British involvement in the Middle East during the war. The British Navy switched from coal to oil as its primary source of fuel; as a result, potential oil supplies in the region were of strategic importance. In addition, British success in separating Arabs and Turks divided the Islamic world and helped quell Turkish efforts to stir unrest among India's Muslim minority.

British Hegemony (Era II)

After World War I, Great Britain and France used mandates established under the auspices of the League of Nations to extend their colonial control over the region. The mandates granted the victorious European powers temporary control over the Arab lands and they were supposed to prepare their charges for independence. At the Cairo Conference of 1921, T.E. Lawrence (popularly known as Lawrence of Arabia) and Winston Churchill (the newly appointed British Colonial Secretary) organized dependent royal regimes in the Jordan and Tigris-Euphrates valleys. Abdullah became Emir of Transjordan under British supervision.

Sharif Hussein's younger son, Faisal, was rejected by France as ruler of Syria. However, Great Britain named him King of the newly created country of Iraq, which was consolidated from the former Turkish provinces of Baghdad, Basra and Mosul. While the area's majority Shiite Muslim population opposed the imposition of a Sunni Muslim king, a rebellion was suppressed. In the 1930s, a series of negotiations culminated in an Anglo-Iraqi Treaty that granted Iraq formal independence in exchange for its pledge to coordinate foreign policy with Britain. When a pro-German faction in the Iraqi army rebelled in 1941, Britain launched a counter-coup that returned its allies to power.

On the Arabian Peninsula, Sharif Hussein lost his British support when he refused to accept the dictates of the Cairo Conference. He and his supporters were driven out of Arabia in 1924 by forces loyal to the House of Saud. In 1927, Ibn Saud, a member of the Wahabi sect, an especially austere branch of Islam, signed a treaty with Britain recognizing its power in the region and acknowledging his local authority.

Iran, a non-Arab country in the Middle East that remained independent of the Ottoman Turks had a similar experience with British imperialism. In the 1870s, British companies secured monopoly control over Iranian railroad lines and mines. 1907, Czarist Russia and Great Britain signed a treaty establishing a joint protectorate over Iran. When local leaders balked, Russian and British troops ensured their cooperation. In 1921, an army rebellion against Iran's constitutional government brought Colonel Reza Khan to power and he was declared Shah, or king, in 1925. Reza Khan, who tried to steer an independent Iran nationalist path was forced out by a joint Soviet and British force in 1941 and replaced as Shah by his son.

The political alignment in the Middle East was complicated during this period by the discovery of oil in the Persian Gulf. An informal 1928 agreement between Great Britain and France initially governed oil exploration and production. The United States did not play a significant role in the region until Standard Oil of California bought oil rights from depression-starved Saudi Arabia in 1933 for $250,000. In 1938, Standard Oil organized a consortium of American companies into the Arabian-American Oil Company in order to better exploit oil resources.

U.S. Dominance and Cold War (Era III)

After 1945 Great Britain, severely weakened by World War II, the declining importance of naval power, the rise of nationalism in the Middle East, on the Indian sub-continent and in Africa, was eclipsed by the United States as the dominant western power in the area. The United States, which until that point was looked upon favorably in the Islamic world, was primarily concerned with securing access to oil and blocking possible Soviet advances. Its foreign policy in the region continued the British approach of supporting undemocratic and unresponsive regimes in the name of regional stability. This included support for a government in the United Arab Emirates that restricts citizenship to less than 20 percent of its population; Kuwait, where only 35 percent of its population are citizens entitled to any rights; Saudi Arabia, whose government is run as a private corporation by a Wahabi minority that includes only 20% of its people; a government in Lebanon dominated by its Maronite Christian minority; and a government in Israel that has occupied neighboring territories since 1967 and denied legal rights to over 3 million Palestinians.

In the 1950s, George Kennan, Director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff explained the principle tenets of American foreign policy as:

- "Our own national interest is all that we are really capable of knowing and understanding."
- "The pursuit of our national interest can never fail to be conducive to a better world."

For fifty years, these assertions have remained the central pillars of United States foreign policy in the Middle East under eleven Presidents from Harry Truman through George W. Bush. In March, 1957, President Eisenhower declared that "(t)he United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East." In January, 1980, President Carter stated that "(a)n attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

The pursuit of American "national interest," however, has not benefited much of the world, especially the vast majority of the people of the Middle East. The ruling Saudi family, maintained in power by American arms and oil companies and defended by United States troops during the 1991 Gulf War, includes 50 billionaire princes and between seven and nine thousand other male members who participate in governing the country and managing its economy. Under their stewardship, billions of dollars are spent annually to support the royal family, per capita income in Saudi Arabia dropped from $14,200 in 1982 to only $6,000 in 1993, and the country incurred an international debt of over $60 billion.

Throughout the post-war period, the United States used its military and covert forces to intervene in the internal affairs of independent Middle Eastern countries and in intra-Arab disputes to promote perceived United States interests. In each case, the Cold War against the Soviet Union was used to justify suppression of popular movements. In 1951, Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh led a parliamentary effort to take over the British owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, part of a general movement in the Third World to nationalize foreign assets. Britain responded by blockading Iranian ports, freezing funds held in international banks, and supporting right-wing radical Islamic opposition to Mossadegh's government. Finally, in 1953, British and United States intelligence services engineered Mossadegh's overthrow and returned power to the Shah.

During the next decade, the United States sent marines into Lebanon to stabilize its pro-Western Christian government against pan-Arab Islamic opponents. It used secret C.I.A. payments to maintain the government of Jordan, supported coups in Syria and Iraq, funded Saudi efforts to overthrow Nasser in Egypt, and supported Turkey's forces and Kurdish guerrillas operating in northern Iraq. At times, when it suited the United States, it switched sides in midstream. In the 1970s, the U.S. opposed Saddam Hussein of Iraq when he sought closer ties with the Soviet Union and then covertly supported him in a 1980s war against Iran. In the 1990s, the United States went to war against Iraq and maintained a devastating economic embargo after Iraq invaded neighboring Kuwait.

Perhaps the sharpest point of United States contention with Middle Eastern governments and Islamic and Arab peoples is U.S. support for Israel. In 1947, Great Britain announced it would withdraw from Palestine and turned decisions over its future to the newly established United Nations. In 1948, the United States endorsed a U.N. proposal to partition the Palestine Mandate into Jewish and Arab states, recognized an independent state of Israel, and supported it in a war against forces from neighboring Arab countries. In 1967, during the Six-Day War and during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the United States provided Israel with intelligence and military resupply in the middle of the conflicts. In 1982 the United States sent marines into Lebanon to oppose Syrian forces after an Israeli invasion attempted to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization. It continues to provide Israel with billions of dollars in aid annually while the Israeli army occupies Arab territories on the west bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza coast.

Many observers believe that the U.S.-Israeli alliance is at the center of Arab and Islamic opposition to the United States (Chomsky, 1999). However, Israel is only one of a large number of client states in the region dependent on the United States for support. If Israel did not exist, I believe Arab and Islamic movements challenging undemocratic governments supported or tolerated by the West would still view the United States as their principle enemy.

Islamic Radicalism

Throughout this period, the United States manipulated radical religious groups to undermine left-wing and nationalist opposition to U.S. interests. At the start of the Cold War, it supported conservative Iranian Islamic groups counter to efforts by the Iranian pro-Communist Tudeh Party to build a left-wing majority coalition in the government. Following nationalization of the Suez Canal and pro-Soviet overtures by Nasser, the CIA cooperated with the staunchly anti-communist Muslim Brotherhood in an unsuccessful effort to undermine Egypt's leader. The Muslim Brotherhood continued to be financed by the pro-western King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, and after Nasser's death in 1970, its imprisoned leaders were released by his successor, Anwar Sadat. The movement spawned the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, which later turned against its two benefactors. It was responsible for the assassination of Sadat and suspected of involvement in the murder of Faisal.

In the 1980s, the United States and Saudi Arabia funneled roughly $5 billion through Pakistan to provide weapons, training and logistical support to religious radicals battling against a pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan and against the Soviet Army. Aid included shoulder-fired Stinger missiles and armor piercing .50-caliber sniper rifles capable of shooting down helicopters.

U.S. support for the Afghani rebels produced a series of unanticipated consequences. The economic and military costs of involvement in Afghanistan were major factors leading to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Heroin produced by the rebels to finance their struggle poured into U.S. cities and undermined its "war on drugs." An anti-Soviet faction, the Taliban, eventually established a strict, religious, anti-modernist society that supports attacks on the West and denies women basic rights. In addition, one of the Islamic militants who took up arms against the Soviet invaders of Afghanistan, a Wahabi citizen of Saudi Arabia, was Osama bin Laden.

New World Order (Era IV)

Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the United States has continued to intervene in the Arab world. In 1990-1991, its troops were stationed in Saudi Arabia as part of a campaign to drive the Iraqi army out of Kuwait. Throughout the 1990s, the United States conducted periodic air and missile strikes against Iraq in which civilian loss of life occurred. It was also active in supporting unrest among Iraq's ethnic minorities and exiled opposition groups. The presence of Western military forces in the land of Mohammed, Mecca and Medina was one of the "provocations" cited by bin Laden as justification for his campaign against the United States.

The coalition building leading up to the military incursion into Afghanistan by the U.S. and Great Britain following the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks relied on some of the same tactics the United States had previously used to secure its interests in the region. In exchange for joining the coalition against bin Laden and his Al Qaeda organization, the U.S. agreed to lifting United Nations sanctions against Sudan for having supported terrorism, Pakistan received $500 million in military and economic assistance from the United States, and Jordan was given special trade privileges. Much was made of the willingness of Russia and China to support the anti-terrorist coalition, but both countries appeared to use it as an excuse to suppress internal dissent among their own Islamic minorities. Russia has battled Islamic separatists in Chechnya and Dagestan in its Caucasus Mountain region since 1994 and China is concerned about an Islamic and nationalist revival among ethnic Uighurs in the western territory of Xinjiang.

Part of the motivation for U.S. military action in Afghanistan and a reason for assembling a broad coalition including Islamic nations may be interest in protecting access to the oil and natural gas resources of the Caspian Sea and Central Asia. According to testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives in March 1999, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan together have 15 billion barrels of proven oil reserves. Afghanistan may also have significant oil and gas deposits (Devraj, 2001).

Teaching About Islam & Muslims in the Public School Classroom: A Handbook for Educators, 3rd Edition (Council on Islamic Education, PO Box 20186, Fountain Valley, CA 92708).
Topics include: Basic Beliefs, Religious Obligations, Muslim Society and ideas for "Teaching with Senstivity."

Conclusions

According to Chalmers Johnson, author of *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (2000), "blowback" is a CIA term used to the describe the unintended consequences of United States international activities that have been kept secret from the American people. For example, reinstalling the Shah in power in 1953 brought twenty-five years of tyranny and repression to the Iranian people, contributed to the Iranian Islamic revolution at the end of the 1970s, led to the staff of the American embassy in Teheran being held hostage for more than a year, and convinced many people across the Islamic world that the United States was an implacable enemy.

In Afghanistan the United States is now suffering "blowback" from its sponsorship of opposition to a pro-Soviet Afghani regime. Recruiting, training and equipping Osama bin Laden and other young Islamic men as freedom fighters contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union, but also the desolation of Afghanistan, a terrorist campaign against American military and civilian targets, and may cause long-term problems for the U.S. economy.

The RAND Institute study, cited earlier, offers a series of conclusions about United States involvement in the Middle East during the second half of the twentieth century that are critical of U.S. policies and lend support to Islamic views of the situation. Fuller and Lesser believe that despite American assertions of broader democratic goals, "relations between Islam and the West after 1945 were subsumed by the geostrategic and ideological competition with the Soviet bloc. Western concern about instability in Muslim regions was inextricably linked to the broader question of how Middle Eastern regimes might choose to advance or impede the containment of Soviet power"(21).

According to the RAND study, "(t)he Islamic world feels itself under siege from the West in numerous vital political, military, cultural, social, and economic realms. This feeling of siege has several sources: the perception of victimization and Western onslaught based on historical and psychological grounds, ...; "objective" internal pressures generated by the process of modernization and related social and economic tensions...; and conscious, direct pressure from the West in the policy arena" (81). These feelings are legitimized by Western actions that feed Islamic perceptions of misuse and betrayal.

Israel remains a particularly sore point for a number of reasons. According to the RAND sponsored study, it is viewed in Islamic circles as a direct Western intrusion on the non-Western world, in much the same way as the Crusades were at the start of the last millennium or the establishment of white settler societies were in Southern Africa. Israel owes its existence to the West because of European persecution of Jews, massive funding by the United States government and private citizens, and its use of American arms, technology and military doctrine in wars against its Arab neighbors.

Fuller and Lesser also warn that Americans risk becoming victims of our own propaganda machine. While "(t)he phenomena of political violence and radical Islam are closely connected in Western perceptions, . . . terrorism of an overtly Islamic character represents only a fraction of the world total . . ." Between 1982 and 1994, Shiite Islamic groups were "responsible for roughly 8 percent of all international terrorists incidents." "Islamist groups" are frequently described by "authoritarian regimes as terrorist or radical simply as a pretext to eliminate the political movement as an opposition group" (118). They caution that "(u)nless political systems" in the Middle East "are opened up to a broad variety of competing forces, Islamists are the most likely inheritors of power when authoritarian regimes break down" (118).

The United States government and the American people must become concerned with a global economic system that produces gross international inequalities. It is a system, maintained by United States military power, that permits one nation, with 5 percent of the world's people, to consume 35 percent of its resources. It is a system that consigns millions of people to the refugee camps, battered cities and desiccated villages and fields of the Middle East and produces waves of young people with little hope of advancement and very little to lose.

Charles Cronin, Lawrence, NY, recommends the following websites to provide students with multiple perspectives on events in the Middle East. The Palestine Times (*www.ptimes.com*) web site has many easy to read articles that reflect the Palestinian perspective of what is happening in the Middle East. The Jerusalem Post (*www.jpost.com*) web site contains articles written from the Israeli perspective. Students can also compare articles with U.S. media coverage of events.

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Why Is the United States Active in "Middle Eastern" Affairs? Principles Underlying Post-World War II U.S. Foreign Policy

On October 6, 2001, President George W. Bush claimed that the goal of American foreign policy was to "defend not only our precious freedoms but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear." Examine the statements defining United States foreign policy during the second half of the twentieth century. Based on these statements, what are the fundamental principles of U.S. foreign policy? In your opinion, did President Bush make an accurate claim? Explain.

- National Security Council Paper Number 68 (January, 1950). "Our overall policy at the present time may be described as one designed to foster a world environment in which the American system can survive and flourish. . . . (T)he cold war is in fact a real war in which the survival of the free world is at stake."

- George Kennan, Director, State Department Policy Planning Staff (American Diplomacy: 1900-1950. New York: New American Library, 1951). "Our own national interest is all that we are really capable of knowing and understanding, . . . the pursuit of our national interest can never fail to be conducive to a better world."

- Eisenhower Doctrine (March , 1957). "The United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East."

- Carter Doctrine (January, 1980). "The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan could pose the most serious threat to the peace since the Second World War . . . The Soviet Union is now attempting to consolidate a strategic position, . . . that poses a grave threat to the free movement of Middle East oil. . . . An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

- Reagan "Evil Empire" Speech (March, 1983). "There is sin and evil in the world and we're enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might."

- Clinton/ Albright Doctrine (May, 1996). Lesley Stahl of CBS television news was interviewing Madeleine Albright, United States ambassador to the United Nations, on "60 Minutes." Albright maintained that United States economic and military sanctions against Iraq had yielded important concessions from Saddam Hussein. Stahl asked: "We have heard that half a million children have died. I mean, that's more children than died in Hiroshima. And you know, is the price worth it?" Albright responded, "I think this is a very hard choice, but the price – we think the price is worth it."

- Democratic Senator Zell Miller, Georgia (*NYT*, September 11, 2001). "I say, bomb the hell out of them. If there's collateral damage, so be it.'

- George W. Bush (October 6, 2001). "Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers themselves. . . . We're a peaceful nation. Yet as we have learned so suddenly and so tragically, there can be no peace in a world of sudden terror. In the face of today's new threat the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it. . . . We defend not only our precious freedoms but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear."

A Chronology of Western Intervention in the "Middle East"

Source: G. Fuller and I. Lesser (1995). *A Sense of Siege, The Geopolitics of Islam and the West* (RAND Study). Examine the list below. How would you respond to the charge that the history of United States involvement in the Middle East represents fifty years of imperialism?

- 1953. British and United States intelligence organizations overthrow Iran's elected Prime Minister and restore the Shah to power.
- 1956. In response to nationalization of the Suez Canal, Great Britain, France and Israel invade Egypt.
- 1958. United States Marines sent to Lebanon to protect a pro-Western government identified with the Christian population but with little Islamic support.
- 1967. During the Six-Day War between Arab states and Israel, the United States supports Israel with military intelligence and supplies.
- 1973. The United States provides extensive military and intelligence support to Israel during the Yom Kippur War.
- 1974. The United States provides covert aid to Iraqi Kurdish rebels against the government of Saddam Hussein, which sought a closer relations with the Soviet Union and was hostile to Iran and the U.S. supported Shah.
- 1982. United States Marines in Lebanon to oppose Syrian forces following an Israeli invasion.
- 1985. United States air strikes against Libya in response to a terrorist bombing in Germany.
- 1986. During the Iran-Iraq War, the United States assists Kuwaiti oil shipping in and out of the gulf, clashes with Iran, and shoots down of an Iranian civilian airliner.
- 1990-1991. Following the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait, United States troops are sent to Saudi Arabia, attack and defeat Iraq, and subject the Iraqi people to a punishing economic embargo.
- 1992-1993. The United States military leads United Nation's forces in Somalia on a humanitarian mission that becomes embroiled in a civil war.
- 1993. The United States continues air and missile strikes against Iraq which cause civilian casualties and supports exiled Iraqi opposition groups.
- 1995. Nine of thirteen United States supported United Nations peacekeeping operations, representing two-thirds of the U.N. troop and police strength, are either in Muslim countries or involve Muslim interests directly: the Sinai (since 1967); India-Pakistan (Kashmir since 1949); Cyprus (since 1964); Golan Heights (since 1974); Lebanon (since 1978); Iraq-Kuwait (since 1991); Western Sahara (since 1991); Yugoslavia (since 1992); Somalia (since 1992).
- In the second half of the 20th century, the United States either openly or covertly supported selected Middle East regimes in inter-Arab politics: Lebanon and Jordon against Nasser's Egypt; the Shah's Iran against Iraq; Iraq against Khomeini's Iran; Kuwait against Iraq; Saudi Arabia against Nasser's Egypt and Saddam's Iraq; North Yemen against South Yemen; Egypt against Libya; Morocco against Algeria; and Israel against all regional states.

Comparing Texts: Bush and bin Laden debate United States Air Strikes in Afghanistan
A Statement by United States President George W. Bush

The following is an edited version of a videotaped statement by President George W. Bush explaining United States air strikes in Afghanistan, Oct. 6, 2001. Source: *NYT*, Oct. 7, 2001, B6.

The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people. And we are the friends of almost a billion worldwide who practice the Islamic faith. The United States of America is an enemy of those who aid terrorists and of the barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name.

Today we focus on Afghanistan. But the battle is broader. Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their own peril.

I'm speaking to you today from the Treaty Room of the White House, a place where American presidents have worked for peace. We're a peaceful nation. Yet as we have learned so suddenly and so tragically, there can be no peace in a world of sudden terror. In the face of today's new threat the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it.

We did not ask for this mission. But we will fulfill it. The name of today's military operation is "Enduring Freedom." We defend not only our precious freedoms but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear.

The battle is now joined on many fronts. We will not waver, we will not tire, we will not falter and we will not fail. Peace and freedom will prevail. Thank you. May God continue to bless America.

A Statement by Saudi-born dissident Osama bin Laden

The following is an edited version of a videotaped statement by Saudi-born dissident Osama bin Laden in response to United States air strikes in Afghanistan, Oct. 6, 2001. Source: *NYT*, Oct. 7, 2001, B7.

What America is tasting now is only a copy of what we have tasted. Our Islamic nation has been tasting the same for more than 80 years, of humiliation and disgrace, its sons killed and their blood spilled, its sanctities desecrated.

A million innocent children are dying at this time as we speak, killed in Iraq without any guilt. We hear no denunciation, we hear no edict from the hereditary rulers. In these days, Israeli tanks rampage across Palestine, in Ramallah, Rafah and Beit Jala and many other parts of the land of Islam, and we do not hear anyone raising his voice or reacting.

In a nation at the far end of the world, Japan, hundreds of thousands, young and old, were killed and (they say) this is not a world crime. To them it is not a clear issue.

I swear to God that America will not live in peace before peace reigns in Palestine, and before all the army of infidels depart the land of Mohammed, peace be upon him.

God is the Greatest and glory be to Islam.

Questions

1. President Bush states that America is a friend to the Afghan and Islamic people around the world. In your view, why is he making this point?
2. President Bush claims "We defend not only our precious freedoms but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear." In your view, is this a legitimate claim?
3. Osama bin Laden claims that what "America is tasting now is only a copy of what we have tasted." In your opinion, what does he mean?
4. When bin Laden says Islamic people have faced "humiliation and disgrace" for more than 80 years, he is referring to the period just after World War I. In your opinion, why does he trace the start of this conflict back to that era?
5. What are bin Laden's conditions for peace between the United States and the Islamic world?
6. Both Bush and bin Laden call on God for strength and support. How do you respond to their invocation of God for their causes? Explain.

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A History of Wartime Laws

(Sources: *Newsday*, October 2, 2001; *The New York Times*, November 10, 2001)

Throughout United States history, wartime laws have infringed on civil liberties.

- ALIEN ENEMY ACT: One of the Alien and Sedition Acts passed in 1798 in anticipation of war with France. It authorized the deportation of "alien enemy males of 14 years and upwards."
- CIVIL WAR: Suspended the writ of habeas corpus - the right to know why a person is detained to ensure that the imprisonment is not illegal. In 1861, President Abraham Lincoln revoked the right for secessionists and those suspected of disloyalty. Congress expanded the suspension of the right in 1863.
- ESPIONAGE ACT OF 1917: Punished spying and wartime sabotage, obstruction of recruiting for the armed forces or for causing insubordination, disloyalty or mutiny in the military. It also punished those making seditious comments. Enforced during World War I and World War II.
- PALMER RAIDS: Under the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918, hundreds of foreign radicals from enemy countries (Germany and Austria-Hungary) were arrested or deported during World War I through 1920 during the Red Scare. General Mitchell Palmer's tenure as "alien property custodian" also included confiscating their property and selling personal belongings and other assets.
- SMITH ACT: Penalized anyone who knowingly or willfully advocated overthrowing or destroying the government by force or violence. Also known as the Alien Registration Act because it required aliens to register and be fingerprinted. Upheld in 1961 by the Supreme Court, which ruled later that advocating government overthrow without violence was an abstract idea that did not violate the law, thus curtailing its use.
- EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066: Allowed Army to exclude "any or all persons" from designated military zones. The order became the impetus for internment camps for 110,000 Japanese-Americans until the end of 1945. Rescinded in 1975.
- McCARRAN ACT: Also known as the Internal Security Act, required organizations associated with communism to register with the attorney general. Members of such organizations were denied passports and were blacklisted from government and defense contractor jobs. Also allowed for detention in time of emergency such as war or insurrection. Established Subversive Activities Control Board that stopped functioning in 1968. Law was dismantled in 1970s.
- FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE ACT: Passed in 1978 in response to increased terrorist activity around the world. It authorized electronic eavesdropping and wiretapping in the collection of "foreign intelligence" information. The act creates a special court composed of seven federal judges, meeting in secret, that considers applications from the Department of Justice and intelligence agencies.
- ANTI-TERRORISM ACT: Proposed after the Oklahoma City bombing and signed into law by President Bill Clinton, this act authorized $1 billion to be spent on fighting terrorism in the United States and reserved the right of the government to deny entrance to any foreigner who was believed to be associated with a terrorist organization.

Examine the nine actions described above.

1. Which of these actions do you consider justified? Explain.
2. Which actions do you consider unjustified intrusions on American rights? Explain.
3. Write an essay explaining your views about infringing on civil liberties during the time of war. In your essay, refer to specific laws and rights.

Rigoberta Menchu's Open Letter to George W. Bush, September 26, 2001

Source: www.globalresearch.ca/articles/MEN109A.html

Instructions: Read the letter by Nobel Peace Prize recipient Rigoberta Menchu, a Guatemalan activist and United Nations official, to United States President George W. Bush. Write a letter in response addressed to either Ms. Menchu or President Bush.

Mr. George W. Bush
President of the United States of America
Washington DC, USA

Your Excellency, Mr. President:

In the first place, I want to reiterate to you the solidarity and condolences I expressed to all your people on Tuesday, September 11 when I became aware of the painful occurrences that had taken place in your country, as well as to share my indignation and condemnation of the threats these acts of terrorism constitute. In recent days I have been following the evolution of events, using my best efforts so that the response to them would be reflection, not obsession; prudence, not rage; and the pursuit of justice, not revenge. I invoked the consciousness of the world's peoples, the communications media, the eminent personalities with whom I share an ethical commitment to peace, the heads of state and leaders of international bodies, in order that prudence illuminate our acts.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, upon listening to the message you gave to the Congress of your country, I have been unable to overcome a sensation of fear for what may come of your words. You call upon your people to prepare for "a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen" and for your soldiers to save their honour by marching to a war in which you intend to involve all of us, the peoples of the world. In the name of progress, pluralism, tolerance and liberty, you leave no choice for those of us who are not fortunate enough to share this sensation of liberty and the benefits of the civilization you wish to defend for your people, we who never had sympathy for terrorism since we were its victims.

We, who are proud expressions of other civilizations; who live day to day with the hope of turning discrimination and plunder into recognition and respect; who carry in our souls the pain of the genocide perpetrated against our peoples; finally, we who are fed up with providing the dead for wars that are not ours: we cannot share the arrogance of your infallibility nor the single road on to which you want to push us when you declare that "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make: Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists."

At the beginning of this year, I invited the men and women of the planet to adopt a Code of Ethics for a Millennium of Peace sustaining that:

- There will be no Peace if there is no Justice
- There will be no Justice if there is no Equity
- There will be no Equity if there is no Progress
- There will be no Progress if there is no Democracy
- There will be no Democracy if there is no respect for the Identity and Dignity of the Peoples and Cultures

In today's world, all these values and practices are scarce; nevertheless, the unequal manner in which they are distributed does nothing but generate impotence, hopelessness and hatred. The role of your country in the present world order is far from being neutral. Last night, we hoped for a sensible, reflective and self-critical message but what we heard was an unacceptable threat. I agree with you that " the course of this conflict is not known," but when you declare that "its outcome is certain," the only certainty that comes to me is that of a new and gigantic useless sacrifice, of a new and colossal lie.

Before you cry "fire," I would like to invite you to consider a different kind of world leadership, one in which it is necessary to convince rather than to defeat; in which humanity is able to demonstrate that in the last thousand years we have surpassed the meaning of "an eye for an eye" which justice had for the barbarians who sank humanity into medieval obscurantism; and that there is no need for new crusades in order to learn to respect those who have a different conception of God and the work of His creation; in which we would share in solidarity the fruits of progress, taking better care of the resources still remaining in the planet and that no child lack bread and a school.

Understanding A Globalized World

by Peter Bell, Director of the New York State Center for Economics Education

"There is talk of a new American empire, of a world that presents the global superpower with a unique opportunity to exploit a victory in Afghanistan - to help the world unify against a new array of threats, to force decisions in every capital to draw a line against terrorism, and to rethink the principles around which nations cooperate. *But there is a struggle underway over what kind of empire America will become.*"
- Patrick E, Tyler, "In Washington, a Struggle to Define the Next Fight," *The New York Times*, December 2, 2002 (italics added).

"America has proved to itself and to others that it is in truth (and not just in name) the only global superpower, indeed a power that enjoys a level of superiority over its actual or potential rivals unmatched by any other nation in modern times....as long as America works to maintain its technology lead, *there is no reason why any challenge to American dominance should suceed.*"
- Margaret Thatcher, "Advice to A Superpower," *The New York Times*, February 11, 2002 (italics added).

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 have raised profound intellectual and political challenges for all of us. They shattered many of the major paradigms that had been used to interpret world events. 9/11 created both the opportunity, and the necessity, to re-examine the forces that underlie global history and the current global economy, especially the new forces of globalization. We are witnessing a new era of global politics and a new phase of intellectual discourse. 9/11 changed the way we think and the way we teach.

Where do we begin in terms of our own comprehension and teaching about these events? I suggest that we need to begin with a willingness to re-examine world history, and the role of the U.S., and with a process of self-examination. Chalmers Johnson, author of *Blowback:The Costs and Consequences of American Empire*, argues for intensive self-examination by the United States before further action. He is concerned that in response to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Americans have freed "ourselves of . . . any genuine consciousness of how we might look to others on the globe" (7).

There is also a need to re-examine how we look at history. We need to replace traditional cause and effect, teleological, and binary ("good vs. evil") models,all of which simplify and reduce the complex forces of history to mechanical models, with a more dialectical analysis. An examples of what I mean by dialectical thinking is the proposition that the practices of European colonialism generated their own opposition, and ultimately their own demise, as a result of the perceived aggression and exploitation of the colonized. Jean-Paul Sartre explained this idea in the introduction to Franz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1968). Sartre wrote: "Our victims know us by their scars and by their chains, and it is this that makes their evidence irrefutable. It is enough that they show us what we have made of them for us to realize what we have made of ourselves" (17).

As part of an attempt to re-structure my own post 9/11 thinking, and in response to a request for clarity from my students, like all good intellectuals and teachers, I retreated to the library. As part of my own struggle to understand these events, I studied some of the dominant interpretations. A brief, schematic summary of these approaches follows. It is more of a reading guide than an exhaustive effort to provide a thorough account of alternative paradigms. It is a tentative beginning. I welcome additions and suggestions, and hope to eventually make a more complete survey available. Hopefully the book reviews that follow this introduction and the lesson materials will make it possible for teachers and students to become more actively involved in exploring this topic.

Some Alternative Paradigms Used to Explain the Current Crisis

1. **Good vs. Evil.** Evildoers have attacked the good, the innocent, and the "free." They must be hunted down ("smoked out of their caves" as George Bush so revealingly put it) and destroyed to preserve the world for the righteous and the good. This approach clearly reveals the limitations of binary thinking: which allows for only one right answer (e.g. "you are either with us or against us." In the period after 9/11 virtually all of the mainstream media invoked this paradigm. The War on Terror became the theme of news reporting, commentary, and news analysis. There was virtually no effort made to

look more deeply or engage in self-examination. Binary thinking is the basis of fundamentalism, which is the enemy of critical thinking. Binary thinking is also reversible. Both George Bush and Bin Laden are fundamentalists, each believing in their own innate goodness, and that the other is the Satan that needs to be destroyed.

2. **Geographic Determinism.** Injustice and inequality are the result of the geographic advantages of regions of the globe multiplied by centuries of development. They are not caused by the actions of individuals, corporations, social movements or nations. Draws on Jared Diamond's book *Guns, Germs and Steel* (1997).
3. **Economic determinism.** Current global conflict is seen as a struggle between rich and poor countries and poverty is the breeding ground for anti-American terrorism. Arguments are similar to those used in the 1960's by Robert McNamara (as head of the World Bank). In this view, the way to cure revolution was to cure poverty through international development efforts. However, forty years later the gap between rich and poor countries has widened. Of the 6 billion people in world today, more than 3 billion live on less than $2 per day.
4. **Economic imperialism**. The idea that Western capitalism is inherently expansive and that its foreign policies are driven by the need to expand markets and find new places to invest. The idea goes back to the theories of imperialism outlined by Lenin, Hobson, and Luxemburg at the turn of the 20th century. They find expression in the work of Noam Chomsky, Michael Klare, Tariq Ali and others, who look at the powerful role of multinational corporations and oil in global politics. Their articles can be read at *www.Znet.org*.
5. **Arms trade driven wars.** Imperialism is vastly more complex in its operations than as it was conceived by early writers. The "Military-industrial complex" has been replaced since 1945 by a "Military-industrial-university-state department-foundation-CIA complex" which drives U.S. policies.
6. **Clash of Civilizations.** Other cultures, particularly religious fundamentalists in the Middle East, resent and want to destroy American values, especially the idea of freedom. This model has been championed by Samuel Huntington.
7. **Islamic implosion.** An alternative view situates the 9/11 attack as part of a larger struggle within the Muslim world between moderates and radical elements: those who accept Western models of development and partial secularization, and radicals who seek to topple what they see as corrupt (anti-Muslim) regimes (e.g. Saudi Arabia), and replace these with Islamic states.
8. **American Empire and its Consequences**. This paradigm sees the current crisis as the consequence of the nature, and operation, of what is understood as an American Empire. The antecedents for this approach are the revisionist American historians of the 1960s, such as William Appleman Williams and Walter LaFeber who both argued for the concept of an American Empire. There are several variations in more recent literature. Related theories include the work of Paul Kennedy and Giovanni Arrighi. Chalmers Johnson sees the crisis of the 1990's as the consequence of a "blowback" against the over-extension of American imperialism. A difficult, but powerful and innovative book, which re-thinks the notion of Empire is Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri, *Empire* (2000).
9. **Anti-modernization**. Sometimes referred to as ""he refusal of development," this approach sees the current crisis as a struggle against globalization, materialism and capitalism, and its threat to local cultures and religions (including Islam). Such a struggle was epitomized by the 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution, which involved a rejection of what one Iranian called at the time "Westoxication." This approach, which has some parallels with the Clash of Civilizations paradigm, is developed in William Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld* (1995/2000).
10. **Capitalist Patriarchy.** Capitalist patriarchy, a particular form of patriarchy, is a set of institutional arrangements that operate with capitalism to ensure male domination. This approach provides a new dimension on the crisis. 9/11 is seen as an attack on the centers of patriarchal rule (Wall Street, the Pentagon, and the Congress). In the view of some feminist theorist, 9/11 has strengthened certain aspects of patriarchy through the (re-)emergence of the male hero/warrior (firefighter, soldier etc.) and surviving widow provider. In this view, when the Taliban rule was ended, capitalist patriarchy overthrew feudal patriarchy. Neither forms of patriarchy, however, ensures the full emancipation of women.

Book Reviews: Understanding A Globalized World

In the last year, a number of authors have addressed issues of terrorism, globalization and the relationship between the West, including the United States, and the rest of the world. For this theme section on the 21st century, six teachers reviewed books that may be useful to social studies colleagues.

1. Benjamin R. Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy* (New York: Ballantine Books 2000; 1995).
2. Caleb Carr, *The Lessons of Terror A History of Warfare Against Civilians: Why It Has Failed and Why It Will Fail Again* (NY: Random House, 2002).
3. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
4. Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Between Islam and the West* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2002).
5. Fredrik Logevall, ed., *Terrorism and 9/11: A Reader* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2002).
6. Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson, eds., *Rethinking Globalization: Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World* (Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools, 2002).

Jihad vs. McWorld

by Kenneth W. Leman

On September 12, 2002, I was barely two weeks into my student teaching assignment. Throughout that day, the students in my classes wondered about the horrific events of September 11th with a question which has since been on the lips and in the minds of many Americans. *"Why"*, they asked, *"would anyone hate the United States so much as to do these things?"*

In the newest edition of his book *Jihad vs. McWorld*, political scientist Benjamin R. Barber attempts to address this question within a larger context of world events. According to Barber, the antipathy which propelled the murderous acts of the September 11th terrorists is fueled by the reactions of people throughout the world to the spread of a Western-dominated, consumerist, secular, global economic system, a system which he calls "McWorld". The resistant, sometimes violent, response to McWorld, a response which draws its support from disintegrating tribal societies, displaced and marginalized work forces, citizenry of currently repressive or former Communist countries and reactionary religious fundamentalism, he calls "Jihad." Barber believes that as long as McWorld grows unchecked, Jihad in some form or other will emerge in response and threaten people, cultures and the social, civic and economic systems upon which they depend.

Barber's book does not offer an American-bashing message nor does he suggest that "we had it coming". He supports armed responses to terrorist acts, arguing that they are often perpetrated by anarchic nihilists for whom destruction is a goal and negotiation of grievances will never be an option. Yet, the author's primary concerns are ones which Americans and other world citizens would do well to consider as our planet enters a new phase of both benefit and conflict. As Barber puts it, we are currently in a "war between modernity and its aggrieved critics." He further explains and warns "that democracy is caught between a clash of movements (McWorld and Jihad), each of which for its own reasons seems indifferent to freedom's fate, and might suffer grievously. It is now apparent, as we mount a new military offensive against Jihad (understood not as Islam but as militant fundamentalism) that democracy rather than terrorism may become the principle victim of the battle currently being waged."

In a wide ranging and well-documented discussion, Barber describes how the rise of multinational corporations has resulted in a world in which global business has unequally distributed capital, goods, services and jobs based largely on a myopic focus on profit, market share and control of resources. This disequilibrium brings not only marked spheres of wealth and poverty, but also supernational business power unrestrained by sovereign nation-states. It is this capitalism "out of the box" which controls wealth and its production, not civic government, and has put a homogenous, Western-American stamp on consumption of consumer goods and services, communications, entertainment and culture throughout the entire world. In response to this "McWorld", Barber states that there is a worldwide "Jihad" reaction (including in the United States) to this new world of secular, crass consumerism - a reaction which calls for a return to old ways, to isolationism, ethnic insularity and xenophobia, and to rejection of democracy, civil freedoms and the modern nation-state.

Jihad vs. McWorld is strongest in i's examination of examples of how Western economic and cultural dominance have failed to promote, and sometimes inhibited, the spread of democratic reform throughout First, Second and Third World countries. Barber is especially convincing when discussing the former Communist Eastern Europe countries struggling attempts to build new governments and economies, the violent reaction of the Islamic world to the spread of Western secularism, the systematic increase of wealth under undemocratic governments such as China's, and the growth of political and religious reactionism within America to our own country's changing economy and shifting moral, racial and religious values.

Barber's arguments sometimes suffer from conclusions that are too sweeping. I believe he overstates the relationship between world conflict and the McWorld-Jihad tension to the exclusion of all other factors. The issues which he raises are complex and it would be hard to present to Social Studies students the idea that most of the world's troubles can be laid to the excesses of McWorld and the backward looking reaction of Jihad.

In *Social Science Docket, Winter-Spring, 2002*, I discussed websites that focus on globalization. Below, I list additional material teachers can consult as they examine multiple perspectives on the battle between *Jihad vs. McWorld* and its impact on the world.

The Lessons of Terror

by Norman Markowitz

Caleb Carr is a military historian who believes virtually all warfare from ancient Rome to September 11, 2001 included aspects of terrorism. He calls his solution to the present international crisis "progressive war." Its essential features include: "refusal to target civilians, constant offensive readiness, the ability to achieve surprise, an emphasis on discriminatory tactical operations, and the strength to act alone, if necessary, in order to vigorously tend to our security." Its key component is a policy of "preemptive military offenses" against terrorists and "the states that harbor, supply, and otherwise assist them" (13). Carr believes that these "strategies, tactics, and policies have been confirmed by two thousand years of hard experience, experience that must finally overcome prevarication that passes for caution" (256).

In this book, Carr defines terrorism as "warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable" (6). He criticizes both the atomic bombing of Japan at the end of World War II (181) and the "carpet bombing of North Vietnam and the pervasive use of napalm" (194) during the War in Vietnam as acts of military terrorism. Carr also claims that "warfare against civilians, whether inspired by hatred, revenge, greed, or political and psychological insecurity, has been one of the most ultimately self-defeating tactics in all military history" and "must never be answered in kind" (6).

A problem, however, is that Carr does not distinguish between acts of terrorism and atrocities committed against civilians that are associated with traditional warfare. I believe his failure to do this undermines his arguments and limits the usefulness of the book. Carr literally fights his way through history, chronicling the barbarities of great empires, Christian, Muslim, Aztec, and those who rose against them, denouncing everyone for their savagery and their military inefficiencies. He also has a tendency to read history selectively while making grandiose assertions without sufficent supportive evidence. The Crusades of the Middle Ages are no more a cause of contemporary issues of terrorism than the 14th century battle of Kosovo was to the Yugoslav Civil War of the 1990s. These sweeping connections give the book an ahistorical quality that threaten his thesis.

Carr has an interesting discussion of the traditional Christian and Muslim religious definitions of warfare. But his explanations focus on theological claims and ignore that religions are complicated social institutions and power structures, not just belief systems. Christianity undermined the Roman Empire, an empire of slaves and provinces conquered by Rome's legions, with its doctrines of peace. However, once it was instituted as the state religion, the Church supported the empire, superseded and subordinated "pagan" belief systems, provided a philosophical defense for "just wars," and gave practical aid to temporal rulers who often came from the same families as church leaders. Similarly, Islam, which spread rapidly by military conquest in the seventh century, defined "just wars" in ways that benefited military rulers who fought in "defense of the faith."

When discussing revolutions, Carr is dismissive of guerrilla tactics used by colonized people since the American War for Independence and the revolutionary violence of mass popular uprisings in France and Russia. He fails to distinguish between their behavior and the state-sponsored terrorist acts of repressive regimes which were often supported by British Intelligence forces and the CIA. Carr's analysis almost always favors the exploiters and oppressors, particularly the British Empire. In

Palestine, he describes the British as "the protector" of the Jews. In India, he ignores its role in setting the stage for the civil war of the late 1940s that created the Muslim separatist state of Pakistan.

Carr is so determined to make his case and justify proactive military intervention by the United States around the globe that he ignores or misinterprets the social, economic and political forces that shaped the modern world. An explanation of terrorism and war needs to address how the rise of commercial capitalism in the 16th through 18th centuries served as the basis for the colonization of the Western Hemisphere; the role of colonialism and imperialism in creating and/or exacerbating the ethnic and religious rivalries that produce cycles of violence and counter-violence; and how the huge disparity in wealth and power between industrialized countries and the rest of the world contributed to imperialism, world war, and a globalization that benefits the few at the expense of the many. I find Eric Hobsbawm's histories of the modern world, *Age of Empire*, and *Age of Extremes*, insightful and infinitely more valuable for teachers.

Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke of "positive peace," peace with social justice, as the answer to violence and war. Finding regional economic and political solutions to the conflict in the Middle East, South Asia, Africa, and Latin America based on fair labor standards, international planning to raise standards of nutrition, employment, education, housing and health care, is the only vaccine against the social diseases that the bin Ladens of the world prey upon. Working through the United Nations and its sister social agencies to develop a global policy that fosters equality, rather than working with and through the IMF and World Bank to foster inequality in the name of "free markets" is the only long-range social answer to the poverty and oppression that constitutes both the cause and the effect of the violence that is endemic against civilians throughout the third world. I believe a foreign policy based on "positive peace" is the best answer to Carr's call for "progressive war," which is another name for unilateral military intervention of the kind that characterized the British Empire in the past and many United States military actions in recent decades.

"Empire" Strikes Back

by John J. McNamara

The tragedy of September 11, 2001, clearly demonstrates that the United States is a target of terrorism. Dramatic developments in technology during the last several decades provide disaffected groups with access to destructive power that was once only available to national governments. Problems in remote parts of the world that previously could have been ignored, now have a significant impact on the quality of American life. The United States is no longer safely ensconced behind its ocean fortress and nuclear shield. Indeed, the whole idea of "nation," as a distinct military, economic, social, cultural and political unit may no longer have the same meaning.

Barriers and boundaries that once existed have been dismantled by "globalization." The First, Second, and Third Worlds have become "one and inseparable." A paradox of this new world order has been increasing disorder that has made it necessary for the United States to both exercise global leadership and to pursue collective cooperation among the world's nations. Into this crucible of insecurity and uncertainty, "Empire" strikes back!

Empire is the title of a provocative book by political scientists, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. They assert that although the European imperialist regimes have collapsed since the end of World War II and the opposition of the Soviet Union and its allies to capitalist world markets has disintegrated, a new variety of "Empire" has arisen from these ruins and formed another global order.

While the empires of the past relied on the force of occupying armies, territorial domination and economic exploitation by national (usually European) states, "Empire" in today's world focuses on the "globalization" of economic markets, cultural exchanges, and communication circuits. The primary factors of production and transaction, namely goods, money, people, and technology, move with increasing fluidity across national boundaries, and nation states have significantly less power to regulate their flow and impose their authority even within their borders of influence.

The basic thesis of the authors is that a new global form of sovereignty has emerged; what they call "Empire." In contrast to traditional imperialism, "Empire" establishes no territorial center of power and is not constructed with fixed boundaries or barriers. The sovereignty of nation-states has declined and yielded to a "decentered and deterritorialized" apparatus of rule that incorporates the entire global realm with open borders, hybrid identities, and plural exchanges. In short, the distinct national colors of the traditional imperialist map of the world have blended and merged into a "global rainbow." The world market has been transformed by the communication and technology revolutions and has "globalized" beyond the capacity and purview of nation states.

The authors contend that this new global sovereignty draws its strength from Western belief systems and institutions, such as the republicanism of the United States Constitution with its concepts of guaranteed individual rights, the pursuit of happiness, and expanding frontiers. In their view this transformation should be welcomed for the passage to "Empire" and increased "globalization" offer new opportunities for the forces of liberation.

Hardt and Negri envision a democratic popular movement toward a form of global communism committed to greater economic, political, and social democracy and equity throughout the world. Although this struggle of the multitude will cause global discomfort and instability, as exemplified in the protests against global finance and trade, against the abuses of child labor and women, and the threats of global warming, the authors applaud these disruptions as part of an effort to overcome international exploitation.

The authors suggest three demands that should be placed on the agenda of the "multitude": the global right to immigration (global citizenship); the global right to a social wage, and global collective ownership of the means of production (which includes both the means of producing and circulating goods and services). The achievement of these goals will be the end of "Empire."

Hardt and Negri see these changes as possible because "Empire" requires increased coordination and communication. Communication is to Hardt and Negri what production was to Karl Marx, the central activity of society necessary to achieve social development. Like production, communication requires labor to produce goods and deliver services. Hardt and Negri assert that "the central role previously occupied by the labor power of mass factory workers in the production of surplus value is today increasingly filled by intellectual, immaterial, and communicative labor power." Through their commitment, resistance, and struggle the democratic demands and desires of the global multitude can be achieved. In their visionary Neo-Marxist view, Hardt and Negri offer the reader a theoretical framework and a toolbox of ideas how to meet the global challenges of emerging "Empire."

The challenge for social studies educators is to analyze and assess this concept of "Empire," integrate its insights into our understanding of history, apply it to the complex whirl of world events, and then find a way to refigure the global history curriculum. Defining key questions is probably the best way to begin. How should the United States function within this new global order? Should it assume and can it afford the role of international policeman? If it does, has the United States donned the mantle of imperialist power that was previously worn by the European powers? Is it a paradox of power that the United States should pursue collective cooperation with other nations in order to lead the fight against global terrorism? Does the United States have a mission to share and spread its democratic values and republican form of government with other people and nations? Can terrorism be best fought with the "soft power" of economic and technological assistance as well as humanitarian programs rather than the "hard power" of military might? Should the United States exercise its commercial and economic to further the cause of global human rights?

These questions pose relevant and vital issues for students' critical thinking and class discussion. Indeed, American policymakers as well as students need to reevaluate the proper role of our nation, and even the idea of nation, in the world today. As Obi-Wan, Luke and their allies learned after an initial victory in *Star Wars, The Empire Strikes Back*!

What Went Wrong

by Kenneth Kaufman

Is the pen mightier then the sword? According to the father of the modern Turkish Republic, Kemal Ataturk, the pen indeed posed a mightier threat to the world of Islam. In 1925 Ataturk argued that "the Turkish victory of 1453 (over the remnants of the Byzantine Empire), and the conquest of Constantinople," reinforced the "resistance of the men of law . . . in Turkey" to "the printing press which had been invented at about the same time. Three centuries of observation and hesitation were needed . . . before antiquated laws and their exponents would permit the entry of printing. . ." To the Ottoman sultans, masters of the Muslim world, printing the Holy Koran was a desecration of holy words and printing was forbidden in their empire.

Bernard Lewis, author of *What Went Wrong, Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (2002), is a professor at Princeton University. For Lewis, the failure of Islamic leaders to understand the true threat against it in the 15th century continues to affect Islam's position in the world today. It lies behind the frustration and anger that emerge in the

Islamic world as its perceived enemies continue to triumph. Lewis believes the key problem in the Islamic world is whether it can incorporate modern technology and science without abandoning the Koran and traditional religious beliefs.

This book was already in the process of being published before the September, 2001 attacks by the al Qaeda network in the United States and does not specifically address them. However the work, an anthology of European lectures given by Lewis, does examine the long sequence of events that lead up to the attacks. It starts with the 7th century advent of Islam on the Arabian peninsula. Lewis believes the rush out of the desert created a religion with an economic, political, and, social framework similar to that of the early Christian church and the ancient Jewish Torah. Religious and political leaders, however, found themselves confronted by the need to govern millions of people in an empire that strectched from the Indus River to the border of France.

The solution to their problem was the creation of a caliphate, an office designating official successors to Muhammad. It was established to insure justice, provide secular leadership and defend the religious law. The caliph's powers grew immensely with the spread of Islam and by the 16th century, the sultans of the Ottoman Turkish Empire and in Iran were recognized as the premier defenders of Islam.

At first the Caliph's appeared to have the upper hand in their battle with the non-Islamic world. By 1683, the Ottoman Turkish empire extended from Mesopotamia to Spain and from the Nile River to the banks of Danube River. But from that point on, the Islamic world faced a series of devasting defeats at the hands of an industrializing and increasingly imperialistic Christian Europe. Only recently, by insisting on the divorce of religion from state, has the nation of Turkey been able to enter the modern military, economic and technological world.

A major issue raised by Lewis is whether Islamic nations and leaders that reject a secular alternative will ever be able to satisfy the needs and aspirations of their populations. He suspects that frustration will continue to grow as the standard of living in the Islamic world not only slips further behind Europe and North America, but falls behind Asian societies as well. Lewis believes that change cannot be forced on the Islamic world from the outside, but will depend on whether the Islamic masses are willing to embrace modernization.

Terrorism and 9/11

by Doug Kramer

On September 11, 2001, the expression "9/11" *entered the American lexicon as a symbol for an* event that may have changed life in the United States forever. On that day, feelings in this country ranged from extreme disbelief, to confusion, pain, fear, and anger. Time may calm our emotions, but only knowledge will reduce our confusion. To help us better understand the issues, Fredrik Logevall (2002) has assembled a collection of twelve readings that discuss "terrorism" and the meaning of 9/11. Logevall's intent in this brief book (less than 150 pages) is to give students and teachers "a better grasp of the roots of the current conflict and a surer sense of the obstacles that stand in the way of genuine and lasting resolution of it."

Logevall focuses the discussion of terrorism on one central theme. He believes it represents a battle over "hearts and minds" in the Islamic world. The selections are designed to provide an overview of how this battle developed ("A Brief History of Terrorism," "The Roots of Muslim Rage," "Afghanistan: Graveyard of Empires") where we stand now, ("The Compatibility of Islam and Democracy," "How the US Helped Midwife a Terrorist," "Osama bin Laden, An Interview," "Buried Alive," "Jihad vs. McWorld," "The Counterterrorist Myth," "Pakistan and the Taliban") and what lies ahead ("They're Only Sleeping," "The Globalization of Islam"). The readings offer a well-rounded view of the conflict, though some are much more useful to teachers than others.

The strength of this book lies in the selections that describe how terrorists, Osama bin Laden in particular, and governments interact. Milton Bearden calls an essay on the "Great Game" in Central Asia, "Afghanistan: Graveyard of Empires." This is an excellent reading for a Global History class. Bearden discusses the history of the region from Alexander the Great through the Taliban in a piece that is clear and easy to read. Geographical connections are incorporated along with references to other writers, including Kipling. It concludes with the collapse of Soviet power in the region at the end of the Cold War and the emergence of Afghanistan as a magnet for the disenchanted, religious fundamentalists and potential terrorists. Logevall includes an interview with Bin Laden. Although it is not that informative, it does offer as close a glimpse of Bin Laden as we have at the moment.

There are several other articles that could be helpful in the high school classroom. Benjamin

Barber's "Jihad vs. McWorld" is an excellent analysis of cultural conflict in the contemporary world. "Buried Alive" by Jan Goodwin describes the Taliban's treatment of women. Goodwin tries to separate the teachings of Mohammed from the abuse that she sees taking place under the disguise of Islam. She quotes several Islamic experts to demonstrate that "there is no compulsion in Islam" that requires the covering of a woman's face or prohibiting education for women. Her indictment of the Taliban is summed up, "Obviously, the Taliban's military prowess far exceeds their knowledge of Islam." In addition to the obvious human rights issue, this article highlights the contradictions and hypocrisies that are rife in the battle for "hearts and minds" in the Islamic world. The United States initially stayed aloof from protests against the mistreatment of women because of the concerns of Unocal, a large and influential oil company that wanted to develop ties with the Taliban in order to exploit the energy resources of the region.

Logevall tries to offer readers a glimpse into what awaits in the future. "They're Only Sleeping" and "Pakistan and the Taliban" argue that the fall of the Taliban did not eliminate either the causes or likelihood of further terrorist acts. The most disturbing article for me was "The Counterterrorist Myth", which analyses the CIA's operations in Afghanistan, particularly its inability to infiltrate or monitor radical organizations in the area.

I believe the primary weakness of the book was in efforts to demonstrate an historical connection between Islamic religious fundamentalism and terrorism. Bernard Lewis, in "The Roots of Muslim Rage", raises many questions but he fails to offer or prove any thesis as to why there is a "Muslim Rage" in the world today.

Rethinking Globalization

by Nick Santora

"Think globally, act locally." This term was coined by Rene Dubos, an eminent biologist, when he served as an advisor to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972. According to Dubos, what we do in our own surroundings affects the whole world. What we buy, wear, eat, and throw out affects poor people throughout the world.

These frequently overlooked connections are thoroughly documented and examined in *Rethinking Globalization: Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World* (Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools, 2002), a series of essays, photographs, cartoons, poems, and lesson plans edited by Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson. Bigelow teaches social studies at a high school in Portland, Oregon. Peterson teaches social studies at an elementary school in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. They are both editors of *Rethinking Schools*, a prominent and socially conscious newspaper for teachers that also publishes educational materials. Issues discussed in this book include colonialism, multiculturalism, overpopulation, world hunger, child labor, sweat shops, environmental degradation, free trade and the grossly uneven distribution of wealth throughout the world. The "Resources" chapter alone is worth the price of the book. There is a large and delightfully varied list of songs, videos, books, journals, organizations and websites that provides a cornucopia of resource and research material for students and teachers alike.

The strength of *Rethinking Globalization* is in the many creative and meaningful lesson plans included in the collection. that support the articles. The book employs a number of parable-like demonstrations. A lesson on Poverty and World Resources by Peterson and fellow teacher Susan Hersh instructs children to distribute chips on a world map according to population. They are guided by a World Population and Wealth-by-Continent chart denoting a continent's population and wealth in terms of Gross National Product. Groups of students are then assigned one of the seven continents. Chocolate chip cookies, representing a continent's wealth, are given to them. When they realize the less populated continents are receiving the most cookies, they regroup for discussion of what the inequality of wealth means in terms of people's lives. Who decides how wealth is distributed? Is wealth distributed fairly "within" a particular continent or nation? Students are assigned follow-up research on related topics including the role colonialism played in the wealth disparity; how current policies of United States corporations and the United States government affect people in poorer nations, and the role of played by agencies such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

For one of my favorite lessons, Bill Bigelow brings a soccer ball into his classroom and asks students to describe what they see. At first they are puzzled. However, the words "Made in Pakistan" and the knowledge they have gained about working conditions in poor countries prompts their imagination. As a culminating activity, students write short essays on the questions "Who built this soccer ball?" or "If this ball could talk, what kind of things would it be able to tell you?" One student imagined herself as the soccer ball worker, underpaid and overworked. She wrote: "I sew and sew all day long to have these balls shipped to another place where they represent fun. Here, they represent the hard work of everyday life."

The editors of *Rethinking Globalization* continually implore teachers to allow students to empathize with the human lives that are behind the sneakers they wear and the shirts and jeans they throw on before they run downstairs for breakfast. Peterson and Bigelow have students go home and find items ranging from T-shirts to pants, skirts, shoes, Barbie dolls, baseballs, and toys. For each item, they list the brand name and where it was made. Next, using information from the Internet and other sources, students find specific information about the companies involved. What wages do they pay? Who works in their factories? What are the conditions of work? What are the environmental conditions of their production?

The sub-title of this book, "Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World," will inevitably cause cynical eyes to roll. There are those who will automatically dismiss Bigelow and Peterson as left wing advocates bent on pushing a biased syllabus. To their credit the two editors confront this issue head-on. They present a case for a distinction between a biased curriculum and a partisan one. Unlike a curriculum intent on promoting a particular position, partisan teaching invites diversity of opinion. Though the book does not provided equal time to proponents of corporate-driven globalization, their views are available to teachers and students at a number of different websites and students are encouraged to examine them, albeit critically.

The most important job of a social studies teacher is to instill in young people the strong belief that they can possess great thoughts, invent theories, analyze evidence, and make their personal mark in a world that has become more complex. By encouraging students to examine global injustice, seek explanations, and become activists, Bill Bigelow, Bob Peterson and their fellow contributors to this scholarly and instructional work make a valuable contribution to social studies education and should be highly commended. This book belongs in every elementary and high school classroom.

Rethinking Globalization: Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World, edited by Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson, is available from Rethinking Schools for $18.95. It can be ordered on line at *www.rethinkingschools.org* or call 800/669-4192.

Additional Resources for Understanding a Globalized World

VIDEO: *Frontline*, In Search of Osama bin Laden, *(2001), Boston: WGBH-PBS Home Video (56 min.).*
Frontline, *Looking for Answers*, (2000), New York: PBS Home Video (60 min.).

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Bhagwati, Jagdish (2002, Jan-Feb). "Coping With Antiglobalization: A Trilogy of Discontents," *Foreign Affair*.
Dollar, David and Kraay, Aart (2002, Jan-Feb). "Spreading the Wealth," *Foreign Affairs*.
Howard, Michael (2002, Jan-Feb). "What's In a Name?: How to Fight Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs*.

High School-level Activity - Voices from the Past Discuss the Meaning of War

Instructions: Examine each quotation carefully. Identify the main idea(s) of the author. Which statements come closest to your views? Explain. Which statements do you fundamentally disagree with? Why? Select one statement and explain how it helps you understand international events at the start of the 21st century.

- Thucydides, Athenian historian (471?-401? B.C.): "War is a bad thing: but to submit to the dictation of other states is worse . . . To you who call yourselves men of peace, I say: You are not safe unless you have men of action at your side."
- Voltaire, French philosopher (1694-1778): "War is the greatest of all crimes; and yet there is no aggressor who does not color his crime with the pretext of justice."
- Benjamin Franklin, American statesman (1706-1790): "I wish to see the discovery of a plan, that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without cutting one another's throats. When will men be convinced, that even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who unjustly commenced them, and who triumphed blindly in their success, not seeing all the consequences."
- Karl von Clausewitz, Prussian general (1780-1831): "War is regarded as nothing but the continuation of state policy with other means. . . Philanthropic souls might easily imagine that there is an artistic way of disarming or overthrowing our adversary without too much bloodshed and that this was the way the art of war should seek to achieve. However agreeable this may sound, it is a false idea which must be demolished. In affairs so dangerous as war, false ideas proceeding from kindness of heart are precisely the worst."
- William Sherman, United States general (1820-1891): "There is many a boy here today who looks on war as all glory, but, boys, it is all hell. You can bear this warning voice to generations yet to come. I look upon war with horror."
- Mark Twain, American writer (1835-1910): "There were two 'Reigns of Terror'; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred millions; but our shudders are all for the "horrors" of the minor Terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak; whereas what is the horror of swift death by the ax compared with lifelong death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty, and heartbreak?"
- Emily Balch, United States, Nobel Laurate, 1946 (1867-1961): "Nationalism has proved excessively dangerous in its divisiveness and its self-adulation. It has given us an anarchic world of powerful armed bodies, with traditions steeped in conquest and military glory, and of competing commercial peoples as ruthless in their economic self-seeking as in their wars."
- V. I. Lenin, Soviet revolutionary leader (1870-1924): "Imperialism . . . is capitalism dying. . . . . Imperialist wars, i.e., wars for the mastery of the world, for markets, for bank capital and for the strangulation of small nations, are inevitable under such a state of affairs."
- Albert Einstein, scientist (1879-1955): "The development of mechanical methods of warfare is such that human life will become intolerable if people do not discover before long a way of preventing war . . . Only the absolute repudiation of all war can be of any use here. . . Anybody who really wants to abolish war must resolutely declare in favor of his own country's resigning a portion of its sovereignty in favor of international institutions. . . Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding."
- Eleanor Roosevelt, American spokesperson (1884-1962): "Wars frequently have been declared . . . because public opinion has been influenced through the press and through other mediums, either by the governments themselves or by certain powerful interests which desire war."
- Dwight Eisenhower, United States general and President (1890-1969): "I hate war as only a soldier who has lived it can, only as one who has seen its brutality, its futility, its stupidity."
- Joseph Goebbels, Nazi official (1897-1945): "War is the most simple affirmation of life. Suppress war, and it would be like trying to suppress the process of nature."
- Alva Reimer Myrdal, Sweden, Nobel Laurate, 1982 (1902-1986): "Our immediate striving must be aimed at preventing what . . . is the greatest threat to the very survival of mankind, the nuclear threat."
- Society of Friends, 1952: "War leads to a vicious circle of hatred, oppression, subversive movements, false propaganda, rearmament and new wars. An armament race cannot bring peace, freedom or security."

Talking with Children about War, Peace and Hope

by Judith Y. Singer

> In *The Fellowship the Ring* by J.R. R. Tolkein (1954: 50), Frodo laments, "I wish it need not have happened in my time." His friend Gandolf replies, "So do I and all who live to see such times. But that is not for them to decide. All we have to decide is what to do with the time that is given us."

Since the attacks on the World Trade Center and on the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, many of us who are parents or teachers have been so fearful that we have been unable to think about what to say to children about these events. Months have passed, and some of us still see the planes colliding with the World Trade Center in our mind's eye. Some of us hear planes flying overhead, and we imagine them crashing into our own homes. How can we talk with children when we have so much difficulty managing our own grief and fear? What should we say to them? What is our responsibility to the children?

Nobody imagined that such devastation could come to the United States. On the other hand, people around the world have been, and continue to be, victims of ongoing wars and destruction. Atomic bombs dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, by the United States, instantaneously killed hundreds of thousands of people and gradually killed thousands more. For more than a decade, children in Iraq have starved or died from untreated illness as a result of a U. S. embargo intended to bring Saddam Hussein to his knees. Families in Bosnia have become refugees, fleeing from burning homes and uncertain that they will ever be able to return. Palestinians and Israelis maintain a level of violent retaliation which is mind-numbing. In parts of Africa, children as young as twelve are drafted to be soldiers in conflicts that have been raging in their countries for decades. These children have known nothing but war. Children in Afghanistan, already vulnerable to loss of limbs from land mines left over from a protracted conflict between the Soviet Union and U. S. supported rebels, are now caught in the middle of a new war, the U. S. war on terrorism.

What should we say to our children? Do they need to know that terrible things are happening to children around the world? Is it terrible only when the bomb is in our own front yard? Do we want children to see themselves as citizens of the world, intent on putting a stop to wars for all children?

Many people maintain that support for peace is misguided at this time because the U. S. was attacked. They believe that war will make us safer. But one lesson of the attacks on September 11, is that no one can expect to be secure in this world while children starve, bull-dozers flatten homes, and young men are denied dreams of a future. Still, responsible educators and psychologists argue that after the terrorist attacks, the main thing children need to know is that they will be safe. These educators emphasize that children need opportunities to talk about their fears, that children need reassurance that they can still depend on the adults who care for them to protect them.

Reestablishing safety is no small matter in a world in which so many adults feel threatened. At the same time, I believe that children need more than safety from us; they also need hope. They need to know that things can change, that war and hunger can end. They need our reassurance that war is always wrong, because in a war neither side is thinking about the children. They need to believe that they can make a difference in the world. If we don't help children articulate their desire for a better world now, how will they become adults who envision a better world?

Children need to know that there are adults who seek to end war and there are political leaders who believe that wealthy countries like the United States should be providing more aid to improve education and health for the world's poorest people. As the little girl in *Peace Crane* proclaims, we need "a world without borders, a world without guns, a world that loves its children."

I believe we have a responsibility to create opportunities for children to talk about how war and peace affect children and to promote symbols that call for peace. The books which follow provide such opportunities. Each book tells a story of war from the perspective of a child. Each offers an image or symbol of peace: an origami crane from Japan, lanterns to commemorate those who died in Hiroshima, goldfish that survive the war in Bosnia, a day when the children speak out against the bombing in Jordan, a butterfly's kiss as a symbol that life continues in Nazi-occupied France, a mother's love.

These stories provide ways of beginning a conversation about war and peace with children and helping them develop an urgency about the importance of valuing human life. The images depicted in some of these books are frightening and may be disturbing to children. However, children are exposed to disturbing images regularly, seldom with any adult guidance. We need to help them understand that war is not a video game.

An added benefit of using books like these to stimulate conversations with children is that it helps adults to move beyond their fears as well. As always, the process of building hope is reciprocal. As we act to provide hope for children, they in turn become a source of hope for us. These stories will help children and the adults who care for them to talk about difficult and terrible things. They inspire readers with possibilities for hope in dark times. Both the children and the adults who share these stories with them are able to see themselves as participants in building hope.

Hiroshima No Pika by Toshi Maruki (1980). New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books.

Seven year old Mii and her parents were having breakfast at the beginning of what began like a normal day in Hiroshima. It was April 6, 1945. "Then it happened. A sudden, terrible light flashed all around. The light was bright orange--then white, like thousands of lightening bolts all striking at once." Much of this story of the impact of the atom bomb on the people of Hiroshima is told in the illustrations of this book: people piled on top of one another, their clothing burned from their bodies; people fleeing flames, trying to reach one of Hiroshima's seven rivers to escape the terrible heat. Her mother somehow carries Mii's injured father on her back, holding tightly to Mii's hand, while Mii clutches her chopsticks in the other hand. Four days later, Mii was still holding onto her chopsticks. In Hiroshima, August 6 is commemorated each year with a lantern festival. Each lantern is inscribed with the name of a loved one who died because of the atomic bomb that was dropped on this city. The lanterns are set afloat on one of Hiroshima's rivers. In addition to honoring the dead, the lanterns symbolize a commitment to peace. "It can't happen again, if no one drops the bomb."

Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes by Eleanor Coerr (1977). New York: Puffin Books.

Ten years after surviving the bombing of Hiroshima, Sadako, a lively, cheerful, twelve year old girl looking forward to running with her junior high school racing team, develops Atom Bomb sickness (leukemia). After she is hospitalized, a friend makes Sadako an origami crane to help lift her spirits. In Japanese culture, the crane is a symbol of life and health. Sadako decides she will fold one thousand paper cranes in the hope that the gods will then grant her good health. Although Sadako did not succeed, her struggle became a symbol of hope for children in Japan and all around the world. A monument erected in Sadako's memory bears the inscription: "This is our cry, this is our prayer; peace in the world."

PEACE
CRANE

Peace Crane by Sheila Hamanaka (1995). New York: Morrow Junior Books.

A young African-American girl recalls the struggle of Sadako, and she appeals to the Peace Crane to help stop the violence in her crime-ridden neighborhood. She calls out, "Peace Crane, are you flying still? . . . If I make a paper peace crane from a crisp white paper square, if I fold my dreams inside the wings, will anybody care?" In her imagination, the little girl flies with the Peace Crane all over the world, calling on all people to be part of "a world without borders, a world without guns, a world that loves its children." A particularly compelling feature of this book is the way the author depicts a common bond between an African-American child needing hope and a hopeful Japanese child long dead. Their differences of race, generation, class, and culture are supplanted by a common desire for peace.

The Butterfly

The Butterfly by Patricia Polacco (2000). New York: Philomel Books.

Monique befriends a Jewish girl, Sevrine, whose family is being hidden from the Nazis in her mother's basement. In the middle of the night, the girls share stories and an affection for Monique's cat, Pinouff. Monique brings Severine a butterfly, a papillon, whose fluttering wings against her skin feel "like the kiss of an angel." During the day, while Sevrine hides, Monique is terrified by the Nazi "Tall Boots" who drag away her friend, Monsieur Marks. A Nazi soldier crushes one of Monique's beautiful butterflies in his fist. In this story of courage and resistance to the Nazis, Monique helps her friend escape, and the butterflies become a symbol of hope that life will continue.

Sami and the Time of the Troubles by F. Heidi & J. Gilliland. Illustrated by T. Lewin (1992).
New York: Clarion Books.

Sami is a Lebanese boy living with his family in the basement of his uncle's house in Jordan. He tells us, "My name is Sami, and I live in the time of the troubles. It is a time of guns and bombs. It is a time that has lasted all my life, and I am ten years old." Despite the war, Sami's family struggles to achieve normality whenever they can. On days when the guns and bombs are quiet, Sami goes outside with his little sister and his mother, while his uncle and grandfather go to work. When the bombs fall, the family seeks safety in his uncle's basement, surrounded by carpets and other objects from their house, "because my mother says there must be nice things to remind us of the good days." Sami's grandfather tells stories to pass the time. He talks about happier times and about the "day of the children. . . a day when the guns had stopped . . . Hundreds and hundreds of children started to march. They carried banners and flags, they carried signs, and the words written on them said: Stop. Stop the fighting." The signs were painted in English, in French, and in Arabic. Sami tells his grandfather, "We can have another day of the children." His grandfather replies, "Yes. It is time. Maybe now the ones who fight will hear, maybe this time they will listen."

Gleam and Glow

Gleam and Glow by Eve Bunting (2001). Ill. by Peter Sylvada. San Diego: Harcourt.

In war-torn Bosnia, families are fleeing their homes, seeking safety from a terrible war. In this story, two children, Marina and Viktor, wait with their mother for their father to come home from the fighting. Viktor looks after Marina, saying, "She's only five and doesn't know much. I'm eight, and I know a lot." The family watches refugees fleeing past their home for many weeks, hearing stories of gunshots and burning homes.

One traveler gives the children a bowl containing two goldfish which he can no longer carry on his back. Marina lovingly cares for the fish for three days, until their mother decides that they, too, must leave before the soldiers come. Viktor decides to put the goldfish in their pond, hoping that there they might survive a day or two longer. With help from other refugees, the family manages the long walk to the border where they find the safety of a refugee camp. Here their father finds them, and after many months they learn that it is safe to return home. All along the way home, they see only destruction. "We saw no houses, no farms, no animals along the way, just rubble and great holes where the bombs had fallen." When they reach home, their house is gone. Marina runs to the pond to find signs of Gleam and Glow. "And there was our pond, as shimmery and dazzling as melted gold. It was filled with countless fish. Mama pressed her hands to her heart. 'Gleam and Glow and their children and their children's children,' she said."

Potatoes, Potatoes by Anita Lobel (1967). Great Britain: World's Work Ltd.

This book tells about a mother who tries to protect her two sons from war by building a wall around her house and potato field. Unfortunately, when her sons grow up, each longs to see the world beyond the wall. They become enamored of the soldier's uniforms. One runs off to join the army of the east and wear a red uniform, while the other joins the army of the west and wears a blue uniform. Eventually, the young men tire of war. They are hungry and tired, and they miss their mother. Each brother, remembering the potatoes, leads his hungry army to his mother's field. "Potatoes, potatoes! The soldiers shout . . . Let us break down the wall and get the potatoes." This leads to a terrible battle, at the end of which the farm has been destroyed, and the young men, believing their mother is dead, begin to cry. But their mother is not dead. She tells her sons and all the other soldiers, "Even though you have ruined my house and my field, I still have enough potatoes in the cellar to feed all of you. But before I will give you even one peel, you must promise to stop all the fighting and clean up this mess and go home to your mothers."

What Social Studies Teachers Should Know About AIDS in South Africa

by Susie Hoffman

In southern Africa, over 24 million people are currently infected with HIV, representing 71% of the estimated global total of adults and children living with HIV/AIDS. The number of new infections in this region of the world was four million in 1999. Although some African countries have made progress against the epidemic, in many other nations rates of infection have continued to soar, moving through the population unabatedly. In seven southern African countries, it is estimated that approximately 20% of the adult population is currently infected. This includes South Africa, where the rate of infection continues to rise rapidly. South Africa has the largest number of people living with HIV/AIDS in the world today, 4.7 million out of a population of 40 million.

The epidemic in Africa first emerged and took off in the central and eastern regions, in Rwanda, Burundu, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire in the mid 1980s. In contrast, South Africa had an infection rate of less than 1% in 1990. Today, South Africa has an explosive epidemic, one of the fastest growing in the world, even though it is one of the more developed nations in the region. In less than 10 years the rate of infection rose from less than 1% to over 20%.

The impact on the country is already enormous and it will be devastating in the years to come. According to a recent study, AIDS accounted for 40% of all deaths among people between the ages of 15 to 49 years. It is estimated that a youth aged 15 today has a 50% chance of dying from AIDS in the future. Because AIDS kills people in the prime of their working and parenting years, the impact on an already struggling economy is enormous. One area where this is already evident is among teachers. In a country that is trying to educate its young people, many of whom were denied an equal education under the apartheid system, the loss of large numbers of teachers to AIDS is devastating. The same is true for the health care system, where losses of health workers to AIDS will diminish the ranks of those trained to care for the sick and fight the epidemic. Further, an estimated two million children will be orphaned in the next decade, and there are few alternative means to care for them.

In South Africa, as is true throughout the continent, HIV is largely spread through heterosexual relations and from mother to child during pregnancy or delivery. This differs from the dominant modes of spread in North America and Europe - intravenous drug use and sexual relations between men who have sex with men. Because the virus is spread heterosexually, at least as many, and possibly more, women are infected as men. Rates of infection among women soar at a very young age, between the ages of 15-19, whereas among men, rates of infection reach their peak about 10 years later. These differences are due to patterns of sexual behavior and unequal relations between men and women. Many women are infected before their first pregnancy, leading to the transmission of the virus to large numbers of the next generation.

Why has the epidemic exploded?

Epidemics (both of infectious diseases and non-infectious diseases like cancer) are not merely biological events. The emergence of epidemics, their seriousness, how quickly they spread, which population groups are most affected, and how long they last, are determined by social factors, including socio-economic conditions (level of poverty and underdevelopment, economic forces), political conditions (war and social instability), socio-cultural factors (role of women in society), among others.

A number of factors contribute to the AIDS epidemic in South Africa, including poverty, rapid migration to urban areas, the unequal position of women, unemployment, illiteracy and poor education, economic under-development and the debt crisis, civil conflict in surrounding areas and the migrant labor system. In addition, in South Africa there are high rates for other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), inadequate treatment programs, a relatively early age for the start of sexual activity, a high number of concurrent sexual partners, and low rates of condom use.

The situation is exacerbated because AIDS tends to be a highly stigmatized disease, in South Africa, as elsewhere in the world. Few people acknowledge that they or their loved ones are infected. Deaths are attributed to other, more acceptable, conditions, such as tuberculoses or malaria. Infected people feel shame about their condition and terrified of revealing it. They fear rejection and abandonment by their families and even physical harm or death. Yet, it is this failure to confront the disease openly that so critically limits an effective response.

Labor Migration Fuels the HIV Epidemic

A substantial portion of the South African economy is structured around a system in which men from rural areas have little choice but to leave their homes in order to work in industrial or mining towns. The men live in these areas for long periods of time, away from their wives and families, and return home periodically. Women generally stay in the rural areas where they maintain homesteads which are a source of subsistence agriculture. This pattern of labor migration became a dominant feature of the economy under apartheid, providing a cheap source of labor to work in the gold and diamond mines.

Under the apartheid system, laws were enacted to restrict the influx of Blacks into areas that white South Africans wanted to maintain for themselves. Blacks could only remain in white areas if they were working there, which meant that they were unable to settle permanently near their place of work. There were no provisions for families in the mining towns; only large hostels for the male workers. This system of labor forced the continued circular movement of men between the mining towns and their homelands, shattering family ties and placing stresses on the workers as well as the women and children remaining at home. The migrant labor system involves the movement of workers across national boundaries as well. Even though the apartheid system was overthrown and replaced with a democratic government in 1994, economic choices remain few and the system of circular migrant labor still exists.

The migrant labor system has had profound effects on the health of workers as well as on their families. Miners live in crowded, substandard housing, work under extremely harsh conditions and received few benefits other than minimal medical care. These living conditions help to promote the spread of common infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and measles. Since workers are separated from their wives for long periods of time, they seek relationships with women living nearby, sometimes establishing second households. The presence of large numbers of men living in the mining towns for long periods also fosters the growth of commercial sex work and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). With few economic opportunities open to them, commercial sex work provides one of the few sources of income for poor women. In some cases, women exchange sex for basic necessities such as food and clothing for themselves and their children.

If a sex worker is infected with HIV, she can pass the virus to a large number of men in a short period of time. In a country where people were denied basic medical services, rates of STDs, such as syphilis and gonorrhea, were high well before HIV became a problem. If a person has another STD, it increases the risk of becoming infected with HIV. These conditions fueled the rapid spread of HIV among migrant workers and when infected workers returned home, they passed the virus to their partners.

Gender Relations and the Spread of AIDS

In South Africa, as in other countries around the world, gender roles and social norms contribute to behaviors that promote the spread of AIDS. Young men are encouraged to prove their manhood by having sex early and with many partners. Young women are socialized to be submissive to men, which leaves them unable to refuse sex or insist on condom use. Both young men and women lack knowledge about sex, receive little sex education in school and are often denied access to basic reproductive health services and condoms. By the age of 14 many girls have engaged in sex, often with older boys or men. A significant number of women's first sexual experiences are non-consensual, involving force or the threat of violence by their partner. In addition, women's economic dependence on men serves to reinforce their powerlessness in sexual matters. Even within established relationships, women do not believe they have the right to refuse sex or negotiate condom use with their partners.

Early sexual initiation, low rates of condom use, acceptance that young men will force their partners to have sex and engage in sex with a large number of women, and the inability of women to influence their partner's behavior, are all factors that have promoted the spread of HIV. Although there is now a high level of awareness of the disease among adolescents and young adults, this awareness has not translated into perceptions of personal risk or vulnerability to the disease, nor to the widespread behavior changes that could slow the epidemic. In particular, condom use is viewed negatively. Condoms are believed to diminish a man's sexual pleasure, and are seen as a sign of mistrust between partners, a reminder of disease and death and, among some, as a plot by whites and foreigners to transmit HIV. Recently, there is some evidence that young people are heeding the message to use condoms, but it is not clear that these behaviors have taken hold.

Responses to the epidemic

Many of the social conditions and cultural patterns described above are not unique to South Africa, but characterize other African societies as well. While migrant labor and gender inequality are deeply rooted and not easily modifiable, experience has shown that strong leadership and multi-pronged approaches can have an impact. In Uganda, where the president and first lady spoke out early and often about the need for men to use condoms and limit the number of their sexual partners, HIV has stabilized. Other countries have had some success directing prevention campaigns towards sex workers and through sex education efforts that target young people.

Unfortunately, denial and inaction have characterized the South African government's response to the epidemic. HIV rates rose dramatically during the period when the country was just emerging from 50 years of apartheid rule and was struggling to create new democratic structures and processes. In 1994, when Nelson Mandela became the country's first black president, an estimated 8% of the adult population was infected. That number grew to over 20% when he left office in 1999. It is now widely accepted that the new government's initial response to the epidemic was slow, timid and inadequate. Although mass media and school-based educational efforts are now underway, these efforts may be too little, too late. Furthermore, the impact of these efforts has been undermined by the actions of current South African president, Thabo Mbeki.

President Mbeki has consistently downplayed the seriousness of the AIDS epidemic, even questioning statistics obtained by his own government. In the face of a worldwide scientific consensus, he has questioned whether HIV is the cause of AIDS, citing poverty as the factor underpinning the high rates of death in South Africa. He has also questioned whether western approaches are suitable for a developing country like South Africa and has said that anti-retroviral drugs, which have extended the lives of millions worldwide, could be as "dangerous as the disease itself" and too costly for the government to administer. Mbeki opposes universal implementation of a policy to treat all HIV-infected pregnant women with nevirapine (an anti-retroviral drug), even though research has demonstrated that this can reduce the transmission of HIV from pregnant women to their unborn infants by 40%.

Fortunately, South Africa is now a democracy, where people have the right to organize against views and policies they oppose. The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) has begun to address the needs of People Living with AIDS by confronting multi-national drug companies (as well as their American government supporters) which refused to lower drug prices for underdeveloped countries. They forced the companies to lower prices substantially and to drop a lawsuit against the South African government, which was attempting to bypass international patent laws and develop locally-produced generic versions of the anti-retrovirals. The campaign is currently confronting the South African government, which still refuses to offer anti-retrovirals in government run clinics and hospitals despite a high court ruling that this is unconstitutional. Leaders in three provinces have already announced that nevirapine will be offered in local clinics. In addition, Nelson Mandela has spoken publicly in opposition to the government's stance on treating HIV-infected pregnant women.

Although richer than most of its neighbors, South Africa faces enormous problems. Besides fighting the AIDS epidemic, it is struggling to house, educate and create the conditions for gainful employment for all of its citizens. These demands far exceed the available resources in this part of the world. Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United States, recognized this problem when he called upon the nations of the world to donate to a Global Fund for AIDS. To date, the Bush Administration has promised to contribute, but the amount offered, relative to the U.S. budget, is far less than what other nations have pledged.

THE FACES OF AIDS IN AFRICA

AIDS in Africa – Death Stalks a Continent (*www.time.com/time/2001/aidsinafrica*). Photographs for TIME Magazine by James Natchwey/Magnum.

A Broken Landscape: HIV & AIDS in Africa (*www.christian-aid.org.uk/news/gallery/aidsafri*). An exhibition of 60 photographs by Gideon Mendel of Network Photographers.

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High School Level Activities (Prepared by Melisa Baker)

H.I.V./AIDS – Whose problem is it?

H.I.V. Region by Region

Despite prevention efforts, H.I.V. infections around the globe continue to rise (Source: UNAIDS).

Region of the World	Total pop. with H.I.V./AIDS	New infections in 1998	% of Adults Infected	Modes of Transmission in order of prevalence
Sub-Saharan Africa	22.5 million	4.0 million	8.0%	Heterosexual Sex
North Africa, Middle East	210,000	19,000	0.13	Intravenous Drug Use Heterosexual Sex
South & South East Asia	6.7 million	1.2 million	0.69	Heterosexual Sex
East Asia & Pacific	560,000	200,000	0.068	Intravenous Drug Use Heterosexual Sex Men having Sex with Men
Latin America	1.4 million	160,000	0.57	Men having Sex with Men Intravenous Drug Use Heterosexual Sex
Caribbean	330,000	45,000	1.96	Heterosexual Sex Men having Sex with Men
Eastern Europe & Central Asia	270,000	80,000	0.14	Intravenous Drug Use Men having Sex with Men
Western Europe	500,000	30,000	0.25	Men having Sex with Men Intravenous Drug Use
North America	890,000	44,000	0.56	Men having Sex with Men Intravenous Drug Use Heterosexual Sex
Australia & New Zealand	12,000	600	0.1	Men having Sex with Men Intravenous Drug Use

Questions to consider:

1. What regions are represented in the chart? In which region is the United States located?
2. How many people are infected with H.I.V./AIDS in Western Europe? In South & South East Asia?
3. Which region has the largest number of people infected with H.I.V./AIDS?
4. Which region has the fewest people infected with H.I.V./AIDS?
5. In 1998, how many people were infected with H.I.V./AIDS in Latin America?
6. What percentage of adults are infected with H.I.V./AIDS in North America?
7. What are the main causes of H.I.V./AIDS infection in Sub-Saharan Africa? North America?
8. According to this chart, is there one cause that is more common than any of the others?
9. What conclusions can you draw about the AIDS pandemic from this chart?
10. In your opinion, whose problem is the AIDS pandemic?

Follow-up assignment:

Write a letter your local newspaper demonstrating your knowledge about the spread of H.I.V./AIDS and your ideas for combatting the AIDS pandemic.

Fighting the Disease

by Geoffrey Cowley, Newsweek, January 17, 2000 (edited)

Can AIDS be stopped in Africa? The temptation, when we confront suffering on such a ghastly scale, is to assume it's beyond human control. But it's not. We know we can contain the spread of HIV, because vulnerable nations have already succeeded. Senegal has held its infection rate below 2 percent throughout the epidemic. And Uganda, once the plague's epicenter, cut its infection rate by half during the 1990's. Replicating such victories won't be easy; every community is different. A strategy that succeeds in one nation can fail in another. But researchers have learned a lot from the successes of the past two decades. Here are some prescriptions for slowing the devastation.

1. Break the silence. The first challenge is simply to face reality. Until recently, few African leaders acknowledged that AIDS was a problem. The disease still carries a strong stigma, but the official silence is breaking. The presidents of Zimbabwe and Kenya are now calling AIDS an urgent problem and many governments are teaming up with corporations and community groups to raise public awareness.

2. Promote safer sex. The greater challenge is to change the behavior that spreads the disease. If people only lacked information, a good leaflet might end the epidemic. The trouble is that no one, rich or poor, makes health choices on the basis of information alone. The most successful prevention efforts have aimed not just to inform people but to change social norms.

3. Target women. Unfortunately, African women are often powerless when it comes to protecting themselves from infection. Women account for 55 percent of the continent's HIV infections, and teenage girls suffer five to six times the infection rate of boys. "Empowering women is critical to controlling the epidemic," says Barry Bloom, dean of the Harvard School of Public Health.

4. Develop a vaccine. The ultimate weapon against any virus is a preventative vaccine. And on that front, progress has been slow. Drug development has flourished spectacularly during the past 15 years, but until recently no vaccine had even entered human clinical trials. The hurdles are political as well as technical. Of the estimated $200 billion the world now spends on AIDS research, care and prevention each year, only $300 million goes into vaccine research. However, trials for two experimental vaccines are now beginning to be backed by private foundations as well as national governments. No one expects miracles from these early vaccine candidates. We can only hope they lead to better ones before Africa loses another generation.

Questions to consider:

1. What are some of the strategies suggested to help slow the devastation caused by AIDS in Africa?
2. According to this article, why were some African governments reluctant to break the silence about the AIDS pandemic?
3. Why is it difficult to change people's behavior even when they are at risk of acquiring a disease like AIDS?
4. What do you think is the best solution to the AIDS epidemic in Africa? Do you agree with the suggestions made in the article? What would you add or change?

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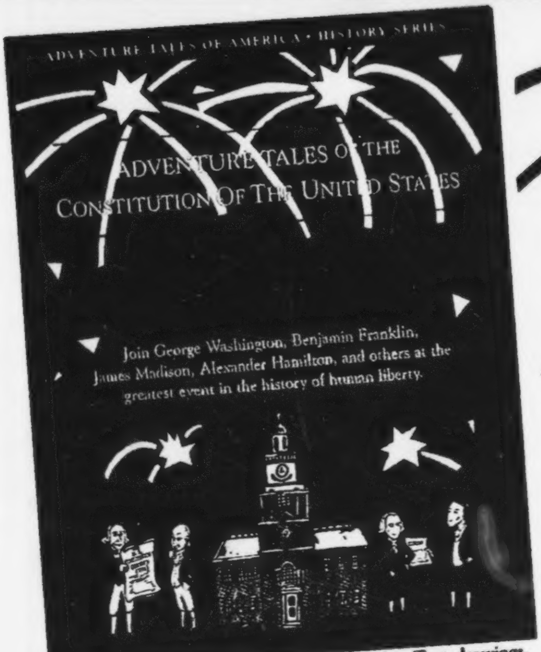

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Middle School Museum of Slavery Project

by Stephanie Hunte, Rachel Gaglione Thompson and Robert Kurtz

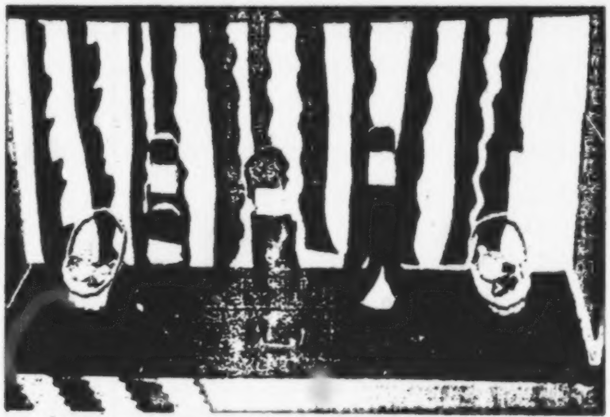
We were able to integrate material from the *Social Science Docket* theme issue on "Slavery and the Northern States (Summer-Fall, 2001) in our classrooms to create a "Museum of Slavery" at Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, that involved students from three middle schools (Turtle Hook Middle School in Uniondale, New York; James Vernon Middle School in East Norwich, New York; and I.S. 119 in District 24, Queens, New York). The centerpiece of the exhibit was a "Wall of Memory: Memorializing the Pain of Slavery and the Hope for Freedom." It consisted of over fifty white tee-shirts that had been torn, stained and dabbed with brown and red paint.

The shirts represented both the pain of the slaver's lash and continuous resistance to bondage. Other exhibits included dioramas of slave life and the slave trade, symbolic representations of the artifacts of slavery, and replicas of slavery documents. Students from Turtle Hook Middle School also presented an African dance and a short play based on Virginia Hamilton's "The People Could Fly."

The student populations at the three schools are very different. Students in one school were largely middle-class and overwhelmingly African American, Caribbean and Latino/a. Students in the second school were working-class, white and Latino/a. Students in the third school were white and Asian American and from affluent families. For many, participation in the museum project was their first real interaction with students from other communities.

At the museum, exhibits were displayed on tables or hung up, along with a card that explained what it depicted. After every one had a chance to browse, each student or student team presented their exhibit to the entire group. At the end, students discussed with the group what they had learned from participation in the Museum of Slavery project. Many expressed surprise that students from other communities and ethnic groups had welcomed their involvement.

Each of the teachers approached preparation for the Museum of Slavery differently. While the class studied slavery, students at I.S. 119 in Queens worked outside of class, independently or in small groups, to create a series of 3-dimensional displays. Students at the East Norwich school worked in small teams and as a full class to create their exhibit. At Uniondale, the entire unit on slavery was organized as a package for student teams and the final team projects were made in class and used to assess student learning.



Diorama showing life in a West African village.

Leather Collect
Leather Collect
Sold

Diorama showing the trek to the coast for sale.

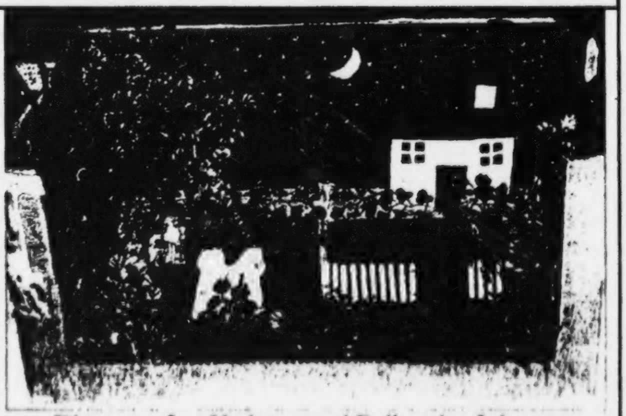
Ms. Thompson's Slavery Museum Project Guidelines

Museums can inspire us to think about events that have taken place in the past. They can also invoke feelings and emotions in us about the sometimes harsh and disturbing events that have taken place in history. With this in mind, you are going to help create a "Museum of Slavery."

You will be working in groups to create your museum exhibit. Exhibits must be dioramas, replicas or any other 3-dimensional display (no posters). You are expected to be creative. The assignment requires that most of your work be done at home, therefore you will be allowed to choose your own groups. Groups should be no larger than 3 people. You may work independently, if you prefer. Themes for each group are listed below along with some ideas. Feel free to use a suggestion or think of your own! Include an information card to go along with your exhibit (like those at any museum).

The focus of your projects is slavery. Not just the history of slavery and slave trade that took place in the 17th and 18th centuries, but also the condition of life under slavery, the way those in slavery resisted, and slavery in the world today. You are expected to use your exhibit to further our understanding of human rights and the responsibility of the world to stop slavery and slave-like conditions.

Diorama of the Middle Passage



Diorama of an Underground Railroad safe house

Possible Themes:

1. Slave Trade - By the 1700's a network to trade slaves between Africa and the Americas was well-established. Recreate the conditions people endured on slave ships while in middle passage.
2. Horrors of Slavery - Many slaves who lived in servitude were subjected to harsh and unfair treatment. Create a replica of weapons or tools used to subjugate captives and control slaves.
3. Slave Resistance - Slaves fought against slavery in violent and non-violent ways. Recreate a scene of slave resistance like Harpers Ferry or an escape route taken to freedom such as on the Underground Railroad.
4. Contributions by African-Americans - Many African Americans overcame injustices and went on to make important contributions to the world. Recreate a scene such as Martin Luther King, jr.'s speech in Washington.
5. Monuments to African Americans - There are many monuments either already in existence or being proposed to honor African Americans. Create a model monument celebrating the struggle against slavery.
6. Slavery Today - Many people in the world are much less fortunate than we are and some still live under conditions of slavery. Create a scene representing slavery today.

Ms. Hunte's "Slavery: A Hands-On Inquiry"

Directions: Our goal as a class is to understand why slavery developed in the Americas and the way it affected Africans, European Americans and the history of the United States. Students will be divided into groups of between four and five members. Each team should select four of the following inquiry stations and complete the activities in the packet for each station. This will take between two and three lessons. You will have an additional day to prepare your team's unit project.

Assessment: You will receive a group grade. Each team must complete an "analysis sheet" for each station that you visit. Each analysis sheet is worth a total of 25 points. In addition, each team must create and present to class a diorama or skit based on what you learned about slavery. This will be graded separately and is worth a total of 100 points.

Inquiry Stations:

- Video Clip: Students will watch scenes from the movie *Amistad* on the middle passage and read a document "A Slaver Describes the Atlantic Slave Trade." The group will complete an analysis sheet and for their project can write a skit in which enslaved Africans are able to testify against their capturers at a trial.
- Computer WebQuest: Students will visit bookmarked web sites with images of plantation life, the middle passage or a slave auction. The group will complete an analysis sheet and can create a diorama depicting one of the scenes.
- Fine Arts: Students will examine pictures of traditional and folk art and listen to songs that depict slave life. The group will complete an analysis sheet and for their project can create a diorama based on one of the pieces.
- Folk Tales: Students will read folk tales about slavery from Virginia Hamilton's book, "The People Could Fly." The group will complete an analysis sheet for each folk tale and for their project can write a skit based on one of the stories.
- Primary Sources I and II: Students will review charts, pictures, diagrams and other documents from the era of slavery. The group will complete an analysis sheet for each document.
- Constructed Responses: Students will analyze charts, songs and documents. Groups must complete two of the following: write a "slave song" in a modern style using information from the documents; write a letter to an advocate of slavery challenging their views; draw pictures illustrating the experience of Solomon Northup; write a newspaper article about the discovery and impact of the cotton gin.

Students perform African Dance

Mr. Kurtz's Museum of Slavery Project

Cooperative group size: 3 or 4 students (For this project teams will need to work outside of school so select group members you can easily meet). Each group will choose an activity and select a project coordinator. Your final project will include a report on how effectively you worked together as a group. This report should be signed by each team member.

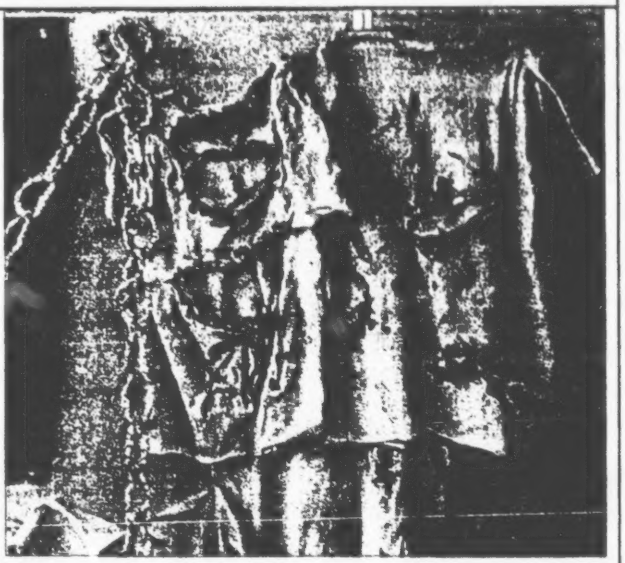
Project Objectives

- To research and share knowledge about the slave trade and slavery in the United States.
- To have a better understanding of the lives of enslaved people in the United States.
- To learn about both the horrors of slavery and the struggle for freedom.
- To learn about the role played by our local community and New York State in the debate over slavery.

Suggested Project Activities:

- Write a newspaper or television editorial on the issue of slavery.
- Design a giant poster explaining an aspect of the slave trade or slavery.
- Create a three dimensional model or diorama of a slave auction, slave ship, or a plantation. Include a written description of your exhibit that describes its historical importance.
- Make reproductions of the artifacts of slavery including the tools and weapons of the slave trade. Include a "museum card" describing the tool or weapon and how it was used.
- Collect documents to make an original document-based test.
- Help design and create the "Wall of Memory" with bloody, torn and stained t-shirts.

Materials to be used for Research: Textbooks, reference books, encyclopedias, atlases, library books, the internet.



Materials to be used for creating three dimensional models and reproductions: Be as creative as possible. Make the dioramas as large as possible. Make reproductions look real.

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Stand and Deliver: A Technique to Bring the Teaching of Essential Questions to Life

by Kevin Sheehan and Gavin Kalner

In the Oceanside (New York) School District our social studies curricula are driven by essential questions from kindergarten through grade twelve. Much has been written about the power of these larger questions to build in passion and relevance to the process of teaching the social studies (Wiggins and McTighe, 1998; Murphy and Singer, 2001), however teachers also need practical ideas to implement the philosophy. This article shares an instructional technique that can make a large difference in your daily instructional practice. In our approach, teachers post an essential question on the front board to begin a unit. After some discussion of students' ideas about the question in absence of content, classes generally "board the content train." The goal is for teachers to return to this essential question at assessment time when students apply the content learned during the unit to answering it.

We find that this final task can be somewhat overwhelming for students. Unless the essential question is continually addressed during the unit, students lose sight of it as a focal point. To address this problem, Gavin Kalner developed an approach we call "stand and deliver." The question that drives the middle third of our ninth grade global history curriculum is, "Is cultural diffusion more positive or more negative?" The content covered during this segment of global history has an enormous time span (from the fall of the Roman Empire through the Colombian Encounter) and requires considerable depth. Our goal is to have students take what they study about each event and region and relate it back to this broad question. Using the "Stand and Deliver" approach, at the end of a lesson on the Crusades, the teacher writes a scale on the front board running from negative 5 to positive 5 with a 0 in the middle. Volunteers "stand and deliver" on the Crusades, using the day's discussion to explain how they rate the impact of cultural diffusion. The student is free to add in any prior information from lessons, homework or personal knowledge, either positive or negative, and must decide on a definite location on the scale. While we will allow volunteers to remain seated, they must deliver, which means applying evidence to support their positions. If you say positive 3, you may argue that the increased trade that is stimulated by the Crusades and its lasting impact on both regions outweighs the disaster of war and religious strife that follows. What makes the question timeless and relevant is that a student may move to the negative side and bring in evidence that relates the current global discord between the Islamic world and the United States.

The real fun of the lesson comes when you get up two or more students up in the front of the room who disagree and begin to defend and discuss their stance on the question. This device brings to life the heart of the social studies as students demand that they be "convinced." This instructional approach also gives teachers instant feedback on the success of instruction. If a teacher discovers that students lack sufficient evidence to support their positions, she or he can review or highlight key points covered in the lesson and ask students to reevaluate their positions. Another tactic is to have students meet in groups to review the lesson before they "stand and deliver."

Because of the focus on using evidence to support a clearly defined position, this instructional approach supports document-based analysis and assessment. We find that when students practice this activity on a daily basis, writing down ideas is less of an obstacle and becomes a natural outgrowth of their thinking.

We believe that this approach has the power to make a significant paradigm shift in the way we teach social studies. Students wrestle with the process of evaluation on a daily basis and not just on a culminating assessment. It demands that students replace feelings with information and helps them view content information for what it truly is, evidence to be applied in the formation of positions. Most importantly, it requires that students abandon the role of passive passengers who are trapped on a seemingly endless ride on the social studies "content train."

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Oceanside High School's Essential Questions for Global History

- **What is civilization?**
- **To what extent are civilized societies uncivilized?**
- **Is contemporary civilization superior to civilizations of the ancient world?**
- **Is geography destiny?**
- **How do societies change?**
- **Is cultural diffusion a positive or negative force in world history?**
- **Do advances in technology really improve society?**
- **Is the diffusion of ideas more powerful than the diffusion of goods?**
- **Was imperialism an inevitable consequence of industrialization and nationalism?**
- **Is nationalism a positive or negative force?**
- **Can wars be prevented?**
- **Can political revolutions achieve their goals?**
- **Do people control governments or do governments control people?**
- **Does the world's diversity make for a stronger planet or lead to inevitable conflict?**
- **Is the world today a better world than the world we studied in previous ages?**
- **Can the world learn to live without global conflict in our life times?**
- **Will the world be able to more successfully deal with its problems in the coming century?**

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Current Events Matters for Elementary School Students and Teachers

by Andrea S. Libresco

In the context of standards and high stakes tests at the secondary level, and the concomitant testing at the elementary level, social studies teachers have protested that they no longer have the time to do creative projects or focus on current events with their students. However, the emphasis on documents-based instruction in the tests actually ought to encourage more and deeper current events teaching. The habits of analysis and evaluation of current events needs to begin in earnest at the elementary level.

When I speak of current events instruction, I am not advocating devoting ten minutes on Fridays to the exercises found at the back of the *Weekly Reader* or *Time for Kids* handouts. I mean elementary teachers creating a classroom culture where being informed about world events, and judging and acting in response to them becomes the norm. I do not minimize the difficulty of this undertaking. But I do see an excellent model in the activities of our language arts colleagues.

Language arts teachers, who see their mission as creating lifelong readers, have classrooms filled with books from a variety of genres and on a range of topics. They model reading behavior by carrying a book everywhere they go, excitedly reading excerpts to their students, interacting with their texts by putting post-it notes on favorite or provocative parts, and joining book groups so they can think through and enjoy a text with their colleagues and friends. These language arts teachers practice what they teach. It is imperative in the 21st century that elementary social studies teachers (who often are the same teachers who deliver such exemplary language arts instruction) model the behavior of wide-awake citizens informed about issues of the day.

Elementary teachers need to get information from a variety of sources across the political spectrum. They should talk back to the newspapers and magazines they are reading and have discussion groups with other adults about what's going on locally, nationally and globally. They should act on those views, writing letters to the editors of newspaper, their congressional representatives and their friends and family about the issues that excite their passions. Finally, teachers need to keep their students abreast of their own efforts to inform themselves and act on the information they have decided is reliable.

Once elementary teachers practice active, engaged citizenship themselves, they need to turn their classroom into places where students are encouraged to acquire and evaluate information and act on it. Bulletin boards should be filled with conflicting sources of information from a variety of publications. Although elementary students cannot digest whole articles from many publications, they can certainly read excerpts. One possible source is the student briefing page of many local newspapers that publish the points of view expressed by students themselves. Elementary students can develop their own student briefing page for their school newspapers where they can present a variety of points of view and defend strongly held beliefs. These are often available on the internet (e.g., *www.newsday.com*). Teachers should also organize currents events groups in their classrooms where students discuss and assess the reliability of information with their fellow students and ultimately decide what action to take on the issues they explore.

These current events groups are a logical outgrowth of social studies and language arts curricula. Current events fits into both the non-fiction genre of language arts and the document-based instruction of social studies. Spending time this way supports the conceptual and skills learning students need for the statewide assessments. Rather than putting students at a disadvantage on tests, they are better prepared to analyze maps, charts, graphs, political cartoons, photos, pie charts, quotes, letters and articles; in addition, from their work with news and editorial pieces, they will be able to distinguish between fact and opinion.

I teach a social studies methods class for elementary school teachers at a local college. As part of the class, teacher education students collect current events articles, develop lessons incorporating selected pieces, and reflect on the importance, pitfalls and methodology of teaching social studies using current events.

The reflections that follow are by Shawne Kelly-Albero, a student teacher in the program. In a package on the 9/11/01 attacks and their aftermath, she raised important issues about current events instruction. Shawne worried about "teacher and student alike getting swept up in the tide of popular opinion without a good grounding in critical analysis." She wrote that "Students need to know when, where and how, but they really want to why . . . I became painfully aware of a lack of information explaining why. The events were most often framed in black and white. The terrorists are evil, deranged, horrible monsters, while the United States is innocent and good. Tempering this view was a tremendous task. I recognized the need to offer a balanced view while fighting against my knee-jerk reaction of horror and repugnance. Most insidious was my need to offer students a pat solution, the 'everything is going to be all right and resolved in our favor' view that pervades our culture. On the other hand, erring on the side of extreme cynicism serves no purpose either. Who responds to a dark, hopeless view? I realized that current information is simply not enough. Teachers and students must go beyond today's accounts and research past events to get a truer picture."

In response to these concerns, Shawne's lessons revolved around researching the causes of the attacks, not to justify them, but to gain an understanding of them. In addition, she wanted students to look for themes in the articles: religious fanaticism, terrorism, war, poverty, Islam, Afghanistan, allies, freedom, civil liberties, and decision-making following a momentous event. Based on her experiences, Shawne argued that "classrooms from the fourth grade up should offer students many media outlets to research information. At the very least, classrooms should have daily newspapers. If the materials are not there, how can students afford them the same importance as textbooks or literature? The availability of materials also ensures that a teacher cannot fully shape students' opinions by picking and choosing the pieces they read."

Democracy has always required informed citizens in order to make effective public policy. In the 21st century, it is a greater challenge for even the most thoughtful people to be adequately informed. The communications revolutions of the 1990s provide both the opportunities and the frustrations of sorting through an avalanche of data. As we move toward an interconnected global community, our lives are so intertwined with others' around the world that we have no alternative but to develop the analytical tools needed to make reliable judgments. Language arts teachers seek to develop lifelong readers by providing their students opportunities to read every day. In order for social studies teachers to develop citizens, we must establish a classroom culture where every day is current events day.

Summer 2004 Teacher Professional Development Seminar

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library invites educators to participate in "The Roosevelt Era, 1929-45: The Great Depression and World War II": a seven-day comprehensive residential institute designed to renew and revitalize teaching on the crucial years that marked the dawn of the modern era in domestic and world affairs. Each seminar will be team-led by a distinguished academic historian in partnership with a master teacher and based at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum in Hyde Park, New York. The seminar includes daily curriculum-writing workshops enabling each educator to produce a customiz[illegible]iculum on the Roosevelt Era by the seminar's conclusion. Participants will receive books, curriculum support materials, and tools to find new resources on their own.

Program sessions are designed in conjunction with national history curriculum standards on the Great Depression and World War II and feature special units on archival document-based research, Internet resources, teaching with historic places, films and videos. Seminar activities include special behind-the-scenes tours of the presidential archive, the Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site, Eleanor Roosevelt's cottage, Val-Kill, and FDR's newly restored retirement retreat, Top Cottage.

School districts are encouraged to enroll one or more educators, or reserve an entire seminar for their staff's exclusive instruction. Tuition and fees, $2,500, includes first class hotel accommodations, all meals, local transportation, books and supplies.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library is one of the ten presidential libraries administered by the National Archives and Records Administration, the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the National Park Service, and the Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project. For additional information or to register contact Jeffrey Urbin, Education Specialist at the Roosevelt Library at (845) 229-8114 ext. 315 or *jeffrey.urbin@nara.gov*.

Ideas for Using Computers in Your Seventh Grade Social Studies Class

by Jennifer Debler

Social studies teachers face a number of problems when our students surf the web doing research. Many waste a lot of time, others get distracted, and some end up discovering and using questionable information. To alleviate these problems, I maintain my own website. I preview websites that I plan to have my students visit and link them to my site. This allows students to go directly to my homepage when they are working on an assignment. A number of companies offer teachers free web space. These include bigchalk.com, scholastic.com, myschoolonline.com, inspiringteachers.com, and teacherweb.com.

On my site, I include homework assignments, project directions, class guidelines, my email address so students and parents can contact me, and links to the school and district webpages. Research connections are organized by units and projects. I also have "just for fun" links to interesting social studies related sites that are not necessarily tied into what we are studying in class. My students like to visit these sites. I update them often so that students are encouraged to check them out regularly.

Before you begin a computer project, there are some things you need to consider. Teachers must be familiar with their school or district's Internet policies. Many require that students have written parental consent before they use the Internet. Some computer labs have filters that block certain web sites. Often these blocks appear to be irrational. When choosing sites for a project, check to make sure they are not blocked by the school's filter.

I recommend the program *Inspiration* (www.inspiration.com) for creating graphic organizers. Teachers and students can use the organizers for planning, organizing, outlining, webbing, and concept mapping. Social Studies teachers can use PowerPoint to create and present slide shows, overhead transparencies, instructions for lessons and projects, maps and charts, class notes, and quiz or test reviews. Students can use PowerPoint to create presentations on topics that they research. Using slide shows to support oral presentations helps even the most nervous student learn to speak more easily in the classroom.

Some districts have video conferencing technology available for classroom use. Video conferencing allows students to take field trips and "visit" remote locations using video, computer and communications technology. Students can conference with other classrooms or visit real life locations such as the American Museum of Natural History, the Museum of Modern Art, the National Science Center, the Baseball Hall of Fame, and NASA.

African Colonial Experience Project

For this project, students utilize Microsoft Word and the Internet to create class "books" about the experiences of Africans during the colonial period. Working in pairs, students select and research specific topics and create a page for our class book. Students learn about and write pages on African kingdoms, trade within Africa, and the Atlantic Slave Trade, the Middle Passage, the evolution of African American culture and customs and individuals Phillis Wheatley, Benjamin Banneker, Prince Whipple, and Olaudah Equiano. Students used the Internet for their research. All sites were categorized and book marked in advance. Students write their own text but can include images pasted from the internet. Each group presents its page to the full class. At the end of the project, every student receives a printed copy of the entire project.

Recommended websites:
Africans in America (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/home.html)
African American Odyssey (http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/aaohtml/)

George Washington Art

This assignment was designed as an enrichment activity for grade 7 "modified" classes. Students evaluated works of art featuring George Washington. Each student chose three paintings or works of art and created a PowerPoint presentation to share with other students. Students cut and pasted the artwork from a web site and then formatted the work into their presentation. They had to use the art to explain the historical period of Washington's life (Pre-Revolution, Revolution, Presidency, Final Days), provide information about the artist and the time when the work was created, and evaluate how the painting portrayed Washington. A painting such as Washington Crossing the Delaware by Leutze gave students the opportunity to learn about historical accuracy, themes, and artist perspective.

Recommended websites:
Picture Gallery of Washington (http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/revolution/wash-pix/gallery.htm)
The Life of George Washington (http://earlyamerica.com/lives/gwlife/index.html)

Federal Agencies

This project was another enrichment activity for grade 7 "modified" classes. Students compiled a class book explaining various federal agencies. Many government agencies offer student pages explaining their function. Students used Microsoft Word to format their information.
Recommended websites:
Justice Department (http://www.usdoj.gov/kidspage)
Central Intelligence Agency (http://www.odci.gov/cia/ciakids)
Social Security Administration (http://www.ssa.gov/kids/teens.htm)

Supreme Court Cases

This project requires student teams to research Supreme Court Cases involving the Bill of Rights and present individual cases to the class using Power Point. The Oyez Project at the Northwestern University web site provides students with both case abstracts and actual Supreme Court decisions. The abstracts provide information appropriate for the middle-level students. Power Point presentations explain the issues in the case, the constitutional amendment under examination, and the decision made by the court. Students are required to integrate two quotations from the court decision into their reports. For this project students utilized government web sites to copy and paste photos and graphics into their presentation. They also practiced using Power Point features such as animation and layouts. Presentations were made in the school library on a large screen television that was connected to the computer lab. Cases included N.J. v. TLO; Gideon v. Wainwright; U.S. v. Eichman; Abington Township v. Schempp; Lee v. Weisman; Miranda v. Arizona; Hazelwood, S.D. v. Kuhlmeier; Tinker v. Des Moines; BOE v. Pico; Texas v. Johnson; Bethel S.D. v. Frasier; Schenk v. U.S.; Goss v. Lopez; and Engel v. Vitale.
Recommended website: Supreme Court Database (http://oyez.nwu.edu/)

Letter to Congress

In conjunction with English classes, students write business letters to their United States Congressional Representative regarding their views on a bill she or he has sponsored. One year, students researched the National Language Act, HR 280, a bill to declare English the official language of the U.S. Government. As part of this project, students learned how a bill becomes a law and identified where HR 280 was in the law-making process. They discovered when it was introduced, its sponsors and committee assignments, interpreted its meaning, and debated its implications. Students found text of the bill through King's web page at the Congressional Web site
Recommended websites:
(http://www.house.gov/king) and THOMAS, a legislative information site of the Library of Congress (http://www.thomas.loc.gov).

The Transportation Revolution

For this project, students examine the movement of people and goods, human-environment interaction, technology, and interdependence during the 19th century transportation revolution. Using Internet sites, students created brochures publicizing different types of transportation innovations including roads, steamboats, canals, and railroads. Students used Print Shop Deluxe or Microsoft Publisher to format their brochures. Again, students copied and pasted photos and graphics from the Internet to use in their projects.
Recommended websites:
Erie Canal (http://www.history.rochester.edu/canal)
Transportation in the New Nation (http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/transport/rivers.html)
History of the National Road (http://www.nationalroad.org/stories.htm)
National Railroad Museum (http://www.nationalrrmuseum.org)

SOCIAL STUDIES RESOURCES ON THE WEB

Lawrence Road Middle School, Uniondale, New York School District
(*http://uniondale.k12.ny.us/lrms/socstudsites.htm*)

With this issue Social Science Docket introduces a section highlighting school social studies web pages. This page was created by librarian/media specialist Paula Trapani (prtrapani@cs.com) at the Lawrence Road Middle School in Uniondale, New York. Paula warns that it is constantly being updated.

General Topics

⊕ American Memory. (Library of Congress) *memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/finder.html*	⊕ The World Factbook (countries) *www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html*
⊕ History Online *www.jacksonesd.k12.r.us/ k12projects/jimperry/colony.html*	⊕ Multicultural Resource Center *www.tenet.edu/academia/multi.html*
⊕ Foreign Embassies of Washington D.C. (countries) *embassy.org/embassies*	⊕ Background Notes on Countries *www.state.gov/www/background_notes/index.html*

Primary Sources & Historical Documents

⊕ American Memory: Historical Collections for the National Digital Library *memory.loc.gov/ ammem/amhome.html*	⊕ National Archives and Records Administration *www.nara.gov*	⊕ AMDOCS: Documents for the Study of American History *www.ukans.edu/carrie/docs/amdocs_ index.html*
⊕ The American Colonist's Library *www.constitution.org/ primarysources/*	⊕ America at War: American Military History (Revolutionary War to WWII) *www.semo.net/ suburb/diswoff/Documents.html*	⊕ Archiving Early America *earlyamerica.com/index.html*
⊕ The Avalon Project: Major Document Collections *www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/ avalon.htm*	⊕ A Chronology of U.S. Historical Documents *www.law.ou.edu/hist*	⊕ Douglas Archives of American Address *douglas.speech.nwu.edu/*
⊕ Government Documents at Yale *www.library.yale.edu/ Govdocs /gdchome.html*	⊕ Documenting the American South *www.ibiblio.org/docsouth*	⊕ Historic Audio Archive *www.webcorp.com/ sounds/index.htm*
⊕ Historic Documents of the United States *www.ukans.edu/carrie/ docs/docs us.htm*	⊕ Historical Text Archive *www.msstate.edu/Archives/History/ USA/usa.html*	⊕ Documents that helped frame the Constitution *lcweb2.loc.gov/glin/us-const.html*
⊕ Hypertext on American History *odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/usa.htm*		

Global Studies

⊕ Library of Congress Country Studies *lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/cshome.html#toc*	⊕ Explorers *www.bham.wednet.edu/explore.htm*
⊕ Background Notes on Countries *www.state.gov/www/background notes/index.html*	⊕ Net Serf (Medieval History Resources) *www.cua.edu/www/hist/netserf/home.htm*
⊕ Latin American Studies *lanic.utexas.edu/*	⊕ Primary sources from Vietnam *www.vietvet.org/thepast.htm*

Government

⊕ Government Information *www.lib.utexas.edu/Libs/PCL/Government.html*	⊕ U.S. Census Bureau *www.census.gov/*
U.S. Historical Census Data Browser *fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/*	⊕ Census Data, 1790-1860 *icg.harvard.edu/census/*
⊕ Statistical Abstract of the United States *www.census.gov/stat abstract/*	⊕ U.S. Supreme Court Decisions *supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/*
⊕ The Great American Website *www.uncle-sam.com/*	

Geography

⊕ Atlapedia *www.atlapedia.com/*	⊕ Color Landform Atlas of the U.S. *fermi.jhuapl.edu/states/states.html*	⊕ Flags and Maps of the World *www.plcmc.lib.nc.us/kids/mow/*
⊕ How Far Is It? *www.indo.com/distance/*	⊕Map Machine-National Geographic *www.nationalgeographic.com/resources/ngo/maps/*	⊕ MapQuest *www.mapquest.com/*
⊕ Great Globe Gallery *hum.amu.edu.pl/~zbzw/glob/glob1.htm*	⊕ 3D Atlas Online Home *wwww.3datlas.com/*	⊕ American Memory Map Collections *memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gmdhome.html*
⊕ Maps on the Internet *www.byu.edu/ipt/vlibrary/curriculum.maps.html*	⊕ The GIS Portal (Harvard Design and Mapping Co.) *www.gisportal.com/*	⊕ Cultural Maps *xroads.virginia.edu/~MAP/map_hp.html*
⊕ Oddens' Bookmarks: The Fascinating World of Maps and Mapping *kartoserver.geog.uu.nl/html/staff/oddens/mapsat3.htm*	⊕ Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection *www.lib.utexas.edu/LibsPCL/Map_collection/Map_collection.html*	⊕ Working with Maps *www.usgs.gov/Education/ learnweb/MA/*

New York State Great Irish Famine Curriculum Guide Will be Available on the Internet at WWW.Hofstra.edu

In addition, copies of the New York State Great Irish Famine Curriculum Guide are available from the New York State Education Department, Publications Sales Desk, 3rd Floor, Education Building, Albany, NY 12234. $15.00 per copy includes shipping and handling costs. Checks and purchase orders payable to the State Education Department. For further information, contact Mary Daley, (518) 474-8773; or mdaley@mail.nysed.gov.

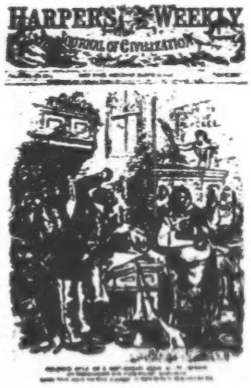
Reconstruction: A Failure or a Success?

by Adams Stevens

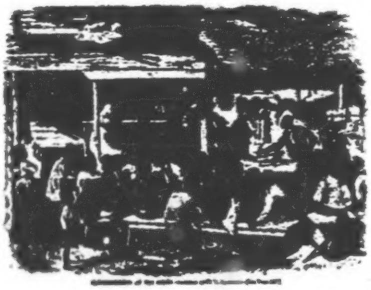
Adam Stevens is a social studies teacher at Paul Robeson High School in Brooklyn, New York and part of the "Gateway to the City" project, a collaboration between the offices of Brooklyn and Manhattan High Schools, District 5 and 17, the New York City Board of Education Office of Multiculturalism/Social Studies, the Brooklyn Historical Society and Hofstra University. This document-based activity is part of a summary lesson for a unit on the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Instructions: Each student team examines one of the Thomas Nast cartoons (available on the web at *http://blackhistory.harpweek.com*), answers questions 1-6, and prepares to report to the full class.

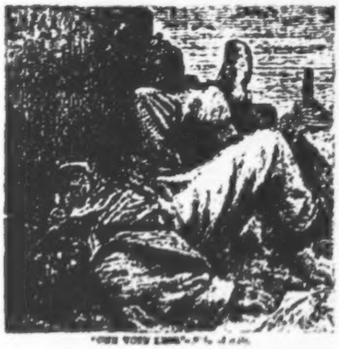
- Who are the characters in the cartoon?
- What are they doing?
- What hidden details can you find in the cartoon?
- What aspects of the drawing are unclear?
- Examine the chronology of Reconstruction. What year do you think this cartoon was published? Why?
- Formulate one question to ask your classmates.



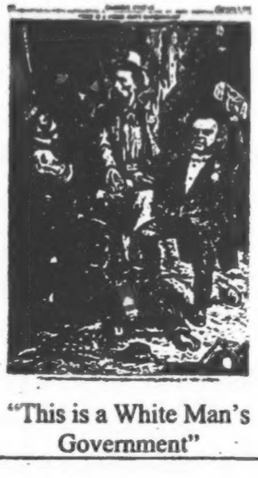
"Colored Rule in a Reconstructed (?) State"



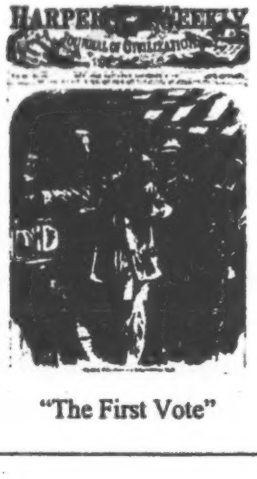
"Electioneering at the South"



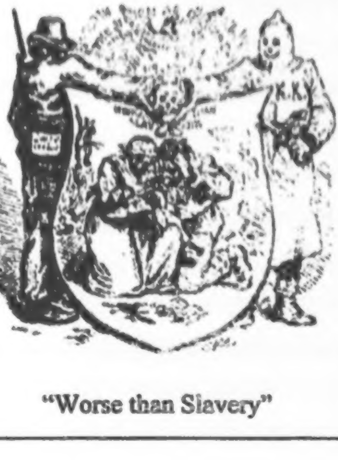
"One Less Vote"



"This is a White Man's Government"



"The First Vote"



"Worse than Slavery"

The American Civil War As A Cause For Canadian Confederation

by Dean June

To state that the American Civil War was the sole or principal reason for the formation of the Confederation of Canada would be an oversimplification. However, the continuing flow of escaping slaves, conflict between the United States and Great Britain, the threat of American expansion north, and the presence of a large Union Army with battle-tested veterans, many of them anti-British Irishmen, certainly contributed to a growing concern for the collective defense of Canada. It is not just a coincidence that John A. MacDonald and George Ettienne Cartier formed a coalition government in the British colony in June, 1864 or that representatives of the Maritime provinces met to discuss unification in September, 1964. Ultimately, a law establishing the Dominion of Canada was signed by Queen Victoria in March,1867 and went into effect July 1, 1867.

Canadians watched the course of the war to the south very carefully. Tension erupted almost immediately in 1861 when the USS San Jacinto stopped the British ship the HMS Trent. Charles Wilkes, the commander of the American vessel, forcibly removed two Confederate envoys, James M. Mason and John Slidell, who were on their way to Europe in an effort to convince England and France to support the Southern cause.

Of particular interest to Canadians were the actions of the Confederate blockade runner, the Alabama. This sleek, low-to-the-water "merchant" ship was a major threat to northern shipping for two years. Because the Alabama had been built in England, many Americans felt the English should share some of the responsibility for the damages. One argument offered was that England should sell Canada to the United States as reparations.

Canadians also worried when a group of Confederates sympathizes robbed several banks, including one in St. Albans, Vermont, in October, 1864. Many northerners wanted to invade Canada in pursuit, which would have been a violation of Canadian neutrality. In response to the robberies, President Lincoln threatened to cancel the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which facilitated trade across the border, and there was discussion about suspending the Rush-Bagot Treaty, which regulated shipping on the Great Lakes. Eventually, Canadian authorities arrested the Confederates, returned approximately $80,000 and tensions eased.

However, events supporting Canadian unification were already in motion. An October 10th meeting in Quebec produced the 72 Resolutions that served as the model for the British North America Act, which established the Dominion of Canada. Would the Confederation of Canada have been formed without the impetus of the American Civil War? Yes, but probably not until the era of the Great War in 1914. In affect the American Civil War actually did create two countries, a unified United States and the Dominion of Canada.

Editorial from *The New York Times*: The Rebels in Vermont, October 20, 1864, pg. 4

"The rebels are making Canada their base of operations for both land and naval raids. It is only a few weeks since a body of Confederates, from the British side, made their rush upon our vessels in Lake Erie, and captured a couple of small steamboats, which they burned; and this morning we are startled with a telegraphic account of an invasion and raid upon St. Albans, Vermont, yesterday, by a band of a score or more of armed rebel desperadoes from Canada. These Confederate ruffians shot several citizens of the town, wounding two seriously, and it is feared fatally – assailed three banks, and plundered them of a very large sum of money – supplied themselves with horses, and threatened to burn the town – after which they left in the direction of Canada. . . ."

"This is a very serious matter, and demands immediate and decisive action on the part of the British authorities in Canada – action of a very different kind from that which they have lately taken in cases of violation of neutrality. If they look with unconcern on such attempts, . . . it will be impossible, after such affairs as that of yesterday, to prevent the outraged people from pursuing their enemies across the lines."

Questions

1. What is happening along the U.S. – Canadian border?
2. What attitude does *The New York Times* take in this editorial?
3. In your opinon, why might Canada be concerned with America's idea of Manifest Destiny.
4. In your opinion, should U.S. forces chase Confederate rebels into Canada? Explain.

From Yenan to the Yangtze: A Unit on Chinese Geography

by Catherine Snyder, Niskayuna High School, Niskayuna, NewYork

In New York State, the transition from Global Studies to Global History and Geography has often been tumultuous. Many teachers have had difficulty incorporating geography into the curriculum in ways that are relevant to students and the time period being studied. As a participant in Geography Alliance Summer Institutes, I am committed to integrating geography standards into the curriculum. This unit on the geography of China offers a multifaceted approach to understanding the issues of population, politics, environment and geography. The unit uses a discovery learning approach. Student teams explore a series of questions in depth in order to understand current problems in China. Focus questions are:

1. How did geography shape the history and development of China?
2. How does geography influence China's "One-Child Policy"?
3. How will the Three Gorges Dam impact on the environment?
4. What role does geography play in Chinas struggle to assert governance over Taiwan?

Student teams research topics using historical and contemporary atlases, library resources, and the internet. As a culminating activity, each student team prepares a multimedia presentation outlining their questions, research and conclusions.

This material can be taught as part of a geography unit or in the World Today portion of the Global History and Geography scope and sequence. China represents 20% of the world's population and what happens in China impacts on the entire planet. I find that the unit enhances student learning about China while reinforcing understanding of larger trends and major social studies themes.

National Geography Standards

1. The World in Spatial Terms. Student will learn:
- How to use maps and other geographic representation, tools, and technologies to acquire, process, and report information from a spatial perspective.
- How to use mental maps to organize information about people, places, and environments in a spatial context.

2. Places and Regions. Student will learn:
- The physical and human characteristics of places.
- That people create regions to interpret earth's complexity.
- How culture and experience influence people's perceptions of places and regions.

3. Human Systems. Student will learn:
- The characteristics, distribution, and migration of human populations on Earth's surface.
- The characteristics, distribution, and complexity of Earth's cultural mosaics.
- The processes, patterns, and functions of human settlement.

4. Environment and Society. Student will learn:
- How human actions modify the physical environment.
- How physical systems affect human systems.
- The changes that occur in the meaning, use, distribution, and importance of resources.

5. The Uses of Geography. Student will learn:
- How to apply geography to interpret the past.
- How to apply geography in interpreting the present and plan for the future.

1. How did geography shape the history and development of China?

Students assigned to this topic use an historical atlas to research the evolution of China as a country. Student research includes, but is not limited to, answering the following questions:
- What key geographic features in Asia have supported China's development? Why?
- How did geography contribute to the development of China's dynasties?
- How has the geography of China's borders influence recent history?

2. How does geography influence China's "One-Child Policy"?
Students assigned to this topic research the reasons for and implementation of China's "One-Child Policy." Students focus on how geography and environment have influenced the government's decision to implement this policy. Student research includes, but is not limited to, answering the following questions:

- What is China's "One-Child Policy"?
- Why was the policy created and how is it implemented?
- What impact does its large population have on the environment of China today?
- How might the "One-Child Policy" alter that impact over time?

3. How will the Three Gorges Dam impact on the environment?
Students assigned to this topic research the Three Gorges Dam project using the internet. Students research includes, but is not limited to, answering the following questions:

- What is the Three Gorges Dam project?
- Why is the dam being built?
- How is the local environment being impacted by the project?
- What are the environmental benefits and costs of the dam?

4. What role does geography play in China's struggle to assert governance over Taiwan?
Students assigned to this topic review the history behind the relationship between Taiwan and China. Student research includes, but is not limited to, answering the following questions:

- What is the historical relationship between China and Taiwan?
- What are the key geographic features of Taiwan?
- What geographic reasons might China have for wanting to reassert control over Taiwan?

Jazz Up Social Studies

by Carole Boston Weatherford

The Sound That Jazz Makes, a picture book by Carole Boston Weatherford with illustrations by Eric Velasquez won the 2001 Carter G. Woodson Award from the National Council for the Social Studies. According to Ms. Weatherford, "Jazz celebrates the cultural roots that gave birth to a national music treasure. Jazz provided the soundtrack for African-American history." She recommends these resources for integrating jazz into social studies.

Recommended resources for integrating music into African American history:
Good Morning Blues, Biograph Records, 1990 (Audio CD) (GB).
Go Down Moses: African-American Spirituals, Jonathan Miller & Chicago a Cappella, 2001 Toc/Orchard (Audio CD) (GD).
Hudson, Wade and Cheryl, How Sweet the Sound: African-American Songs for Children. New York: Scholastic, 1995. Song lyrics and sheet music (HSS).
Songs of Zion. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1981. Hymnal of African-American songs (SZ).
The Long Road to Freedom: An Anthology of Black Music; BMG/Buddha Records, 2001 (5-CD set with hardcover book compiled by Harry Belafonte).
Jazz: A Film by Ken Burns; PBS, 2000 (VHS/DVD)
The Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz, 1995 (Audio CD boxed set).

Topics in African American History:
Africa: "Kumbaya" (HSS, SI, SZ); *Drums of Passion* (Babatunde Olantunji), 1990, Sony/Columbia (Audio CD).
Slavery: "Go Down Moses" (GD,HSS, SZ); "Steal Away" (GD, SZ); "Hambone" (HSS, SI).
Reconstruction: "Take This Hammer" (HSS); "Lining the Track" (Dan Smith) (GB).
Jim Crow: "The Boll Weevil" (Huddie Ledbetter, a.k.a. Leadbelly) (HSS,GB); "The Entertainer," *Scott Joplin: Piano Rags* (Joshua Rifkin, pianist), WEA/Atlantic/Nonesuch (Audio CD).
The Great Migration: "West End Blues" (Louis Armstrong), *West End Blues*, Music Club, 2000 (Audio CD), "Take the 'A' Train" (Duke Ellington), *Take the 'A' Train*, Prime Cuts, 1997 (Audio CD); "Strange Fruit" (Billie Holiday), *Golden Hits*, Mesturn: 1996 (Audio CD).
World War II: "Stormy Weather" (Lena Horne), *Greatest Hits*, BMG/RCA Victor, 2000 (Audio CD); "If You Can't Smile and Say Yes," *The Best of the Nat King Cole Trio: The Vocal Classics (1942-46)*, Capitol, 1995.
Civil Rights Movement: "We Shall Overcome" (SZ); "Alabama" (John Coltrane), *Ken Burns JAZZ Collection*, Uni/Verve, 2000 (Audio CD); "Say It Loud" (James Brown), *Say It Loud: I'm Black And I'm Proud*; Uni/A&M, 1996 (Audio CD).
1980s and Beyond: "Every Ghetto, Every City," *The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill*, Columbia, 1999 (Audio CD).

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New Jersey Council for the Social Studies Convention 2002 - October 28, 2002

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Social Science Docket

Social Science Docket is a joint publication of the New York and New Jersey Councils for the Social Studies. Each issue includes theme-related and non-themed articles, lesson plans, learning activities and book, movie and museum reviews designed for K-12 social studies teachers. Article and lesson plan submissions are welcomed. The deadline for Winter-Spring issues is October 15. Deadline for Summer-Fall issues is March 1. We strongly encourage early submissions.

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- Articles should be between 5 and 10 pages typed (1000-2000 words). Lesson plans and learning activities should be appropriate for classroom use.
- Initial submission should be either via mail or e-mail. Final versions of accepted material should be submitted either via e-mail or as a text file on a computer disk.
- Authors should use APA format without footnotes or endnotes. e.g., Text Insert - (Paley, 1993: 7-12) References - Paley, V. (1993). *You Can't Say You Can't Play*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Submissions will be reviewed by an editorial committee of social studies teachers who will help authors prepare articles, lessons and activities for publication.
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EFF-089 (3/2000)